MESTER



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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

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REVIEWS

Introduction

In its 34th publication, *Mester* lives up once more to what it means to us: the art of editing and crafting a journal that can provide the reader with a broad range of academic studies related to different periods in Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian literature. In light of the 400th anniversary of the publication of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, *Mester* is proud to present the 2005 issue, which explores some of the topics highlighted in this landmark of Universal Literature. We hope that the avid reader can enjoy and find in *Mester* XXXIV the pleasures of exploring, through these articles, some of the new scholarly perspectives of our times.

We would like to thank the UCLA Department of Spanish and Portuguese, the Del Amo Foundation, and the UCLA Graduate Student Association for their support in publishing this issue. The crafting of this number would not have been possible without the extensive collaboration of the Editorial Board. Special thanks to Prof. John Dagenais, Chair of the UCLA Department of Spanish and Portuguese, for his invaluable support and advice; and to Kenneth Luna for his meticulous labor throughout the long hours in the editing process.

Marisol Castillo
Editor-in-Chief 2004–2005
Mester Literary Journal



Articles

Legal Discourse in *Don Quixote*

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Though a number of recent studies pay close attention to the importance of *economic* terms and concepts in *Don Quijote*—for example Carroll Johnson's *Cervantes and the Material World* and David Quint's *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times*, the role of legal discourse in the work remains in the shadows. Yet Cervantes's masterpiece is saturated with formulas lifted from legal documents, such as "*so pena de la pena pronunciada*," "*sin perjuicio de tercero*," "*y otras cosas que doy aquí por expresadas*," "*sin remisión*," "*ley del encaje*," "*salir a la vergüenza*," "*otorgarle la vida*," "*bien y fielmente*," "*puesta en ejecución la culpa*," "*traslado a parte*," "*quienquiera que sea*," and many, many more. Several types of legal documents appear, including among them arrest warrants, contracts, letters of payment, Don Quixote's duly notarized will, a certified register of the *galeotes*' sentences, and several affidavits. Agents of law enforcement and judicial procedure in the text include members of the Santa Hermandad, commissioners for the galleys, a high-ranking judge (the *oídor* Juan Pérez de Viedma), the Viceroy of Barcelona, and, of course, Sancho himself in his role as governor. Other characters also play the role of judges on a number of occasions, such as the priest in the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library, Don Fernando in the 'case' of the *baciyelmo*, and Roque Guinart, the Catalan outlaw, who acts as judge within the territory he controls. Mock trials and other scenes patterned on legal proceedings recur frequently throughout the work, from the very beginning, with the scrutiny of the books in Don Quixote's library and Marcela's defense at Grisóstomo's funeral early in Part One, and continuing throughout Part Two in scenes like Basilio's testing of Quiteria and Ana Félix's last-minute reprieve, granted after she tells her life story with a noose around her neck.[1]

The relative neglect of this aspect of *Don Quixote* is unfortunate, first of all, because it leaves an important dimension of the mad knight's chivalrous mission under-explored, namely, his desire to act as a judge

in the anachronistic manner of a feudal lord. After all, one of the chief activities of the knight errant in his conception is that of redressing torts (*enderezar tuertos*, usually translated 'righting wrongs,' a phrase that diminishes the legalistic nuance of the original). Don Quixote repeatedly acts as a kind of medieval magistrate, starting early in the novel when he renders his judgment against Juan Haldudo for whipping his servant Andrés. In the context of changes in the Spanish judicial system at the time, this aspect of the hero's mission reveals a political dimension of Cervantes's masterpiece. Legal reform played a crucial role in the consolidation of the Spanish Empire. The exploration of alternative approaches to the administration of justice, however playful, implicitly challenges the underlying foundations of Absolutism.

Rather than enhancing our understanding of the work's historical circumstance, however, a one-sided emphasis on economics can lead, as it clearly does in Quint's case, to an over-hasty assimilation of *Don Quixote* to European modernity. Quint focuses on the transition within the work from an archaic, feudal order represented by the knight's madness to a "modern" society in which money regulates human relations. This makes the fictional world of Cervantes's novel fit rather too neatly into the context of British and French mercantilism and even early capitalism. Tellingly, there is no discussion in Quint's book of the social changes brought about by the Hapsburg dynasty and its imperial policies. As Carroll Johnson's emphasis on Spain's "stillborn capitalism" in the opening chapters of *Cervantes and the Material World* demonstrates, paying attention to economic issues in Cervantes's writings does not have to mean collapsing three centuries of European history into one. But legal discourse especially obliges us to look at *Don Quixote* in its historical specificity. In particular, it draws our attention to a major political change occurring at that time: the consolidation of the absolutist state and the role of judicial reforms in that process.

Through legal proceedings and legal language, Cervantes inscribes into *Don Quixote* the expansion, even within Spain, of imperial power. The increasingly ubiquitous presence of the monarchy manifested itself, among other things, in an exponential growth of court cases heard on appeal. Beginning during the reign of Charles V and continuing through that of his son Philip II, a policy of encouraging judicial appeals increased the number of lawsuits so rapidly that, according to Richard Kagan, early modern Spain became one of the most litigious societies in history (16–7). The goal of this policy was

"to promote royal absolutism and, specifically, to increase the power of royal tribunals vis-à-vis those of the municipalities, the nobility, and the church" (Kagan 151). Legal proceedings thus became an important part of everyday life in rural New Castile, and the average peasant of La Mancha would have been familiar with royal proclamations authorizing the interrogation of witnesses, and such processes as swearing to testify truthfully and responding to legal questioning. Due to this tremendous expansion of the judicial system, many more people participated in legal proceedings of one sort or another than ever before, and this clearly left its mark on the culture of Cervantes and his readers. Thus this layer of meaning in *Don Quixote* both reflects and, to some extent, resists the ubiquity of royal power achieved under the Hapsburg monarchs.

Those who have treated this theme in *Don Quixote* and other Cervantine writings generally speak of an opposition between spontaneous or "natural" justice and the legal bureaucracy of the emergent modern state. As we will see, however, this apparent dichotomy dissolves on closer inspection, for monarchical power ultimately contains both. Thus Carmen Vega-Carney has observed that the former model, an anachronistic holdover from chivalric romance, prevails in Part One, while royal justice overwhelms and contains that autonomous local form of power in Part Two. Over eighty years ago, Américo Castro discussed Cervantes's utopian longing for swift justice: legal judgments pronounced by a sage, commonsensical, and well-intentioned individual, executed without lengthy appeals (191). Nonetheless, ambiguity surrounds the scenes in which this form of justice is actually practiced—such as the liberation of the galley slaves, or Roque Guinart's punishing a member of his band who has criticized him in front of the others by cutting his head open, without a word of warning. Here, it helps to recall Maravall's subtle argument in *Utopía y contrautopía en Don Quijote*. In Maravall's view, Cervantes perceived the degradation of utopian thought, how it had fallen away from the forward-looking orientation of Renaissance Humanism, becoming instead a nostalgic yearning for an earlier social order by means of which an ineffectual nobility justified its high social status. Beyond the romances of chivalry, it is this idealization of feudalism that Cervantes satirizes in *Don Quijote*. Though it seems to offer an alternative vision of the social order to that of the Absolute Monarchy, in the last analysis this reactionary ideology only aims at

the incorporation of the aristocracy into a new monarcho-seignuerial regime. Increasingly, during Cervantes's own lifetime, all forms of power lead back to Madrid. There is no 'outside' of the monarchy.

In both early modern Spain and the Spanish colonies of the New World, this ubiquity of royal power was achieved in large measure through the generation of a pervasive demand for narrative.[2] The imperial bureaucracy appropriated the practice of gossip, common in traditional agrarian communities, integrating local knowledge obtained by neighbors spying on each other into a centralized administration controlling the population. Knowing that anything one said could find its way into a lawsuit or Inquisition trial led to an awareness of the potential consequences of speaking in front of witnesses and an increased attention to who was present when a given statement was made. This encouraged a calculating, duplicitous approach to interaction, and gave the public sphere a distinctly theatrical quality. It also meant that royal power operated not only by getting people to tell their stories, but also by getting them to listen to and judge the stories others told. Ultimately, the absolutist state projects an unattainable limit point where royal power would be operative in every social interaction, no matter how trivial, but without any one individual actually exercising it.

This demand for narrative exerted an intense pull within Spain. The range of techniques used to extract from people what they knew about their neighbors included, notoriously, torture; but the invitation could be benign, and in many instances empowering. It could mean an opportunity to accuse rivals or to defend one's own reputation and status. But whatever the use to which it was put locally, demand for narrative strengthened imperial authority, for it served to introduce monarchical power into the everyday lives of its subjects. The demand for narrative did not always present itself as an external imposition. More than the power to pass judgment, it is an active power to generate stories, penetrating into the interiority of the subject. Often, self-interest motivated the subject of imperial power to tell his or her tale—but of course, this interest had itself been implanted by the administration.[3] The first great literary reflection of this colonial condition as the generator of narrative comes in the fictional prologue of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, addressed to a mysterious "Vuestra Merced" who has demanded that Lazarillo "relate el caso muy por extenso"

In Cervantes's novel, this form of power frequently manifests itself as the nexus between narrating and judging. Often a character

or group directly requests that someone tell his or her story, thereby introducing a secondary narrative. It is true that the demand is generally placed in a sympathetic light: tell us your story so we can help you, or at least offer you the consolation of sharing your grief. Nonetheless, the requests take the form of rhetorically elaborate speeches calculated to overcome anticipated resistance by convincing the hearers that sharing their stories is in their best interest. Don Quixote both "supplicates" and "conjures" the wild man Cardenio to tell him who he is and why he has withdrawn into the mountains to die, swearing solemnly to help him, either by remedying his suffering or by lamenting it with him. The priest exhorts Dorotea in similar terms, promising to advise her in her distress, "pues ningún mal puede fatigar tanto, ni llegar tan al estremo de serlo, mientras no acaba la vida, que rehúya de no escuchar, siquiera, el consejo que con buena intención se da al que lo padece" (*Don Quixote* 319–20; bk. 1, ch. 28).

These requests usually take place in the context of quasi-legal proceedings, in which other characters (and the reader) evaluate and judge the person speaking, or those about whom they are speaking. Such "mock trials" include Marcela's defense at Grisóstomo's funeral, the galley slaves' account to Don Quixote of their crimes and the sentences they received, and Dorotea's pleading of her cause before Don Fernando at the Inn. The captive's tale culminates in his reconciliation with his brother, an *oídor* about whose judgment he is initially extremely anxious. Thus the demand for narrative in *Don Quixote* belongs to a thematics of justice and judicial processes, much as it did in the social world of sixteenth-century New Castile or in the *relaciones* emanating from the New World.[4]

On numerous occasions, Don Quixote himself exercises this judicial function, behaving more like a local magistrate than a knight-errant. In the first example, to which I already briefly alluded, he finds a rich man, Juan Haldudo, whipping his poor servant, Andrés. After questioning them closely, he pronounces his judgment: Haldudo should pay Andrés his back wages, a sentence Don Quixote insists he must obey, invoking the legal formula "so pena de la pena pronunciada" (66; bk. 1, ch. 4). His speech and actions prompt Andrés to refer to him as "buen juez." At Grisóstomo's funeral, his friend Ambrosio bitterly accuses Marcela of his death, and she delivers an impressive speech protesting her innocence, for she never led him to believe she loved him. Don Quixote responds in a way that clearly

frames her discourse as the defense at a murder trial, at the same time as he casts himself as judge:

> Ninguna persona, de cualquier estado y condición que sea, se atreva a seguir a la hermosa Marcela, so pena de caer en la furiosa indignación mía. Ella ha mostrado con claras y suficientes razones la poca o ninguna culpa que ha tenido en la muerte de Grisótomo [. . .]. (156; bk. 1, ch. 14)

Deciding such cases on his own initiative, he acts according to a conception of justice based on a frontier feudalism typical of medieval Iberia. In late sixteenth-century New Castile, though, it is absurd to imagine that one can administer justice independently of the centralized judicial system of the Hapsburg dynasty. At no moment is this anachronism more in evidence than in the one instance where Don Quixote directly flouts royal authority: the freeing of the galley slaves.

In Chapter One of *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain*, Ruth Pike discusses the use of condemned prisoners to row the galleys (3-26). Her research shows that the practice increased dramatically from 1532 until 1552, maintained a high level for nearly a century, and then went into decline after 1650, when the proportion of Muslim slaves began to increase. Forced labor on the galleys was abolished altogether in 1748. Though military necessity surely played a role, it cannot be a coincidence that the use of service on the galleys as a punishment for criminal offences peaked during the period of judicial expansion during which the absolutist monarchy was being consolidated. As Pike points out, the galleys were particularly feared, and thus provided an important incentive for prisoners to appeal their cases. Arguably, the legal maneuvering prisoners went through to avoid going to the galleys was as important, judicially speaking, as the *galeotes* themselves. Incidentally, Pike includes a map of the route by which prisoners from the central holding prison in Madrid traveled to the port of Cartagena to embark on the galleys. It sliced right through La Mancha, passing through such towns as Campo de Criptana and Socuéllamos, in the vicinity of El Toboso. While one did not see a group of men chained together like so many rosary beads and led on a forced march across the plains of La Mancha every day, still it would have been a fairly frequent occurrence, even though a rather strange and melancholy sight to behold.[5]

From the moment Sancho explains to him that the *galeotes* are being taken against their will, Don Quixote intends to intervene in their favor. Nevertheless, he withholds judgment until he has heard their stories, which he directly demands of them himself. In the speech announcing his 'sentence' and his intention to free them, Don Quixote stresses that the galley slaves have already been punished: "aunque os han castigado por vuestras culpas." Obviously, he believes the whippings they have received are sufficient punishment for the crimes they committed. Now, in actual legal practice, when appeals to higher courts were made by those sentenced to the galleys, the years in the galleys were frequently commuted to the same number of years of banishment from the town of residence. It is typical of the cases that go through all the steps up to the highest grade of appeal (*grado de suplicación*) that there is at least some reduction of the sentence. Presumably this acted as an incentive to appeal. It is reasonable to assume that these galley slaves have not had their cases heard on appeal; they have been sentenced only by a local court. Of his own accord, Don Quijote takes it on himself, then, to hear their appeals and mitigate their punishment. He thus short-circuits the justice system, breaking the continuous chain that links the humblest *alguacil* to the highest court of appeal. He dispenses justice independently, like a medieval lord, although that had not been possible in La Mancha for more than one hundred years. To some extent, then, it appears that Don Quixote's nostalgia is not so much for the military activities of the knight errant, as for the autonomous power to govern of the landed gentry of the Middle Ages.

At this point, I would like to describe briefly a few instances I have come across in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) of individuals sentenced to the galleys, who appeal their sentences—initially rather harsh—and get them reduced. As it happens, all three are Moriscos from Granada, resettled in La Mancha after the War of the Alpujarras—but this is simply because I am currently researching that particular group. I am confident that similar cases could be found for other groups, or in other areas. All three cases come from towns belonging to the military orders, so their appeals were heard by the Consejo de Órdenes. They are housed today in a subsection of the Órdenes Militares (OO MM) section of the AHN, called the Archivo Histórico de Toledo (AHT) because it was once housed there. In February 1572, Hernando Pérez and two other Moriscos apparently stole from the cash box of a makeshift tavern in Ocaña. They got the

innkeeper's thirteen-year-old daughter to leave the room on a pretext, and tried to rob the place while she was gone. She caught them red-handed. Within a week of his arrest, Hernando had been sentenced to being publicly whipped, and eight years in the galleys. Eight years is a severe penalty—only Ginés de Pasamonte gets more than six in the galley slaves chapter in *Don Quixote*. Local law enforcement officials in Ocaña quickly carried out the public whipping, not allowing the accused enough time to appeal. His lawyer denounced a number of irregularities in his trial, finally insisting that "el dicho mi parte está bastantemente castigado en haberse ejecutado en su persona la pena de azotes." In March the Consejo de Órdenes commuted the eight years in the galleys into one year of banishment. In June his final appeal ended with even the *destierro* being repealed (AHN OO MM, AHT, núm. 15.455). My second example: García de Molina was accused, in 1585, of violating the crown's decree that the Moriscos taken from Granada should not change their place of residence without permission. He was *alistado* in Albalate de Zorita, but had been living for about five years in the neighboring town of Almonacid, ever since he married a Morisca in that town. For this rather trivial offense he was sentenced to four years in the galleys. Early in 1586 he received a more favorable decision, in which the four years became four years of exile from Almonacid (AHN, OO MM, AHT, núm. 37.019). Finally, we have the remarkable case of Pedro Marín, condemned and fined in 1570 for falsifying passports authorizing himself and other Moriscos to travel from place to place within Spain. In 1574, he is again found guilty of forgery, and this time he is to receive two hundred lashes and go to the galleys for four years. When the Consejo heard his case, the lashes had already been administered. The judgment on appeal reduced his sentence to just the lashes: "confirmar en los azotes y en lo demás revocar" (AHN, OO MM, AHT, núm. 38.462).

These cases resemble those of the galley slaves Don Quixote frees in several ways. First of all, the disproportion is similar between the relatively insignificant crimes and the severity of the punishment. This is most obvious in García de Molina's case—all he was guilty of was moving a few kilometers so he could live with his new wife, and the idea of sending a sixty-year- old to the galleys is rather appalling. Another similarity is the humble station of the accused. Like the *galeotes* Cervantes depicts, they cannot really afford to pay for an elaborate defense. Yet unlike those *galeotes*, they find lawyers willing

to take their cases all the way to Madrid on appeal. A widespread reading of this episode in *Don Quixote* is that it satirizes the harsh and unjust system of punishment in Cervantes's Spain, implicitly arguing in favor of a more 'modern' approach. Particularly emphasized is the idea that justice is too autocratic, depending too much on the will or the whim of a single local official, who could be corrupt. This view does not hold up to scrutiny however, for once we know a bit more about the actual functioning of the judicial system in the late sixteenth century, we are forced to admit that at least a fortunate few obtained fair and equitable justice by appealing to the royal bureaucracy. On appeal, these cases would have been scrutinized once more, as Don Quixote does; new testimony might have been brought in, to better understand the mitigating circumstances of each case. Though such a process might well have led to the release of the galley slaves, Don Quixote has no patience for the slowly turning wheels of bureaucracy. So he takes the law into his own hands and frees them immediately. What is ultimately at stake in the episode is not the substantive question of what constitutes justice for these men, but rather the formal one of who can administer it. Don Quixote's 'madness' is in this sense a bid for restoring local autonomy in governance, against the centralizing tendency imposed by the absolutist monarchy.

As noted above, in Part Two of *Don Quijote* this opposition between local autonomy and centralized bureaucracy unravels, revealing them to be two sides of a single coin: the ubiquitous monarchical system sometimes manifests itself as a slow process allowing for almost endless appeal, but at other times permits swift, unrelenting punishment. A curious instance of the latter is embedded within the Maese Pedro episode (Chapter 26), when the boy narrator praises Marsilio, the Saracen King of Zaragoza, for avoiding delay in administering the two hundred lashes to which he sentenced a member of his household for sexually assaulting a captive Christian princess, Melisendra. After describing how he was taken without delay through "las calles acostumbradas de la ciudad, 'con chilladores delante / y envaramiento detrás,'" the boy adds the extra-diagetic commentary for which Don Quijote chides him: "y veis aquí donde salen a ejecutar la sentencia, aun bien apenas no habiendo sido puesta en ejecución la culpa; porque entre moros no hay 'traslado a la parte', ni 'a prueba y estése', como entre nosotros" (242; bk. 2, ch. 26).[6] Several factors complicate this apparent praise for Muslim judicial procedure. First, the anachronistic

image of the form of punishment, public whipping mounted on a horse or donkey, paraded through the customary streets, obviously derives from Cervantes's own Spain, rather than from eighth-century Muslim Iberia. "Por las calles acostumbradas" is in fact a legal formula appearing in the sentences of those condemned to be publicly whipped. Further, the descriptive phrase evoking the Baroque performativity of early seventeenth-century ceremonies of public humiliation, "con chilladores delante / y envaramiento detrás," comes from a *jácara* by Quevedo, written around 1612: "Ya está guardado en la trena / Tu querido Escarramán" (298–306). In the poem, a thug writes his lover to tell her how he was arrested for fighting in a tavern in Seville and taken out the very next day to receive a hundred lashes. The contrast the boy makes between Muslim (autocratic) and Christian (bureaucratic) judicial practices does not hold up, then. Or, to say the least, Sevillian practice more closely resembles 'theirs' than 'ours.'

In this regard, let us also recall the boy's error a little further on, when he speaks of the ringing of all the bells in the towers of the mosques of Zaragoza to sound the alarm at Melisendra's escape. Again Don Quijote interrupts to criticize him, pointing out that Muslims do not use bells to call the faithful to prayer. Once more, it appears that the Muslim setting of these events is only a disguise, like that of the shepherds of pastoral literature, and the artificiality of the cultural othering to which these Moors are subject is allowed to show through. Again, there is a concrete association with Seville, home of the most famous converted mosque tower into which bells had been installed, La Giralda. Underneath, they behave more like Christians than we might really be comfortable with. After all, what may appear an enviable efficiency in the judicial system when viewed from afar, and in a culture considered exotic, perhaps even a bit savage, begins to look a bit too much like tyranny if brought close to home.

As numerous sources attest, including several of Cervantes's own texts, late sixteenth-century Seville, the largest city in Spain at the time, teemed with corruption and crime, both organized and independent.[7] To 'clean up' the official port to the New World, the Crown appointed the Count of Puñonrostro, Francisco Arias de Bobadilla, as Asistente of Seville—a chief executive answerable directly to the Consejo de Castilla. The Count embarked on a vigorous program of reform, a chief element of which was the enforcement of price controls. Typically, all those caught selling any foodstuffs or

staple products for more than the price set for them by the municipal authorities received two hundred lashes, "por las calles acostumbradas," with no possibility of appeal. This practice made him a popular hero, since it guaranteed the availability of basic necessities at affordable prices. As Francisco de Ariño recounts in his colorful memoir, crowds gathered to celebrate these whippings, and street poets composed anonymous satirical lyrics in praise of Puñonrostro. Moreover, fascinating anecdotes circulated of how the Count himself strolled through the markets of Seville, stopping people to ask how much they had paid for things. Thus the demand for narrative could work both ways, since in the end it is only a technique for leading people to identify with the structures of power governing their lives. But the Count ran afoul of the Sevillian *Audiencia* when he arrested a Celestinesque *jabonera* named María de la O. In addition to selling soap and cosmetics, she dealt in love potions and served as a go-between in illicit affairs. She had enough influence in high places to get the *Audiencia* to confiscate the key to the iron gate of the jail so the mule on which she was already seated, stripped to the waist, could ride forth to parade her through the streets. Enraged, Puñonrostro had the gate ripped out to allow the punishment to proceed. The *Audiencia* lodged a formal complaint with the *Consejo de Castilla* for what they considered a violation of their jurisdiction, but they lost their case. Puñonrostro's victory over María de la O. and the corrupt officials who supported her strengthened his position both politically and in the public eye (Ariño 45–87). In his narrative, Ariño emphasizes the fervor with which people followed these events: "Con estas cosas y otras andaba la ciudad muy alborotada, que por parte ninguna que fuesen no se trataba de otra cosa sino de lo pasado" (73). This little episode inverts the association of local autonomy with autocratic decision-making, on the one hand, and centralized authority with bureaucracy, on the other. Thus we see that Absolutism, as the first phase of the modern state, could not yet establish a single, homogeneous set of judicial practices. Rather, its ubiquity was achieved through a complex arsenal of overlapping institutions, whose jurisdictions, ultimately all leading back to the Crown, often came into conflict with one another.

Cervantes was certainly aware of the local drama taking place around the question of law enforcement and jurisdiction in Seville in those years. In *La ilustre fregona*, he places bitter complaints about

Puñonrostro's reforms and praise for the *Audiencia* for standing up to him in the mouths of a pair of Sevillian *pícaros:*

> Sábete, amigo, que tiene un Bercebú en el cuerpo este conde de Puñonrostro, que nos mete los dedos de su puño en el alma. Barrida está Sevilla y diez leguas a la redonda de jácaros; no para ladrón en sus contornos. Todos le temen como al fuego, aunque ya se suena que dejará presto el cargo de Asistente, porque no tiene condición para verse a cada paso en dimes ni diretes con los señores de la Audiencia.
>
> -¡Vivan ellos mil años -dijo el que iba a Sevilla-, que son padres de los miserables y amparo de los desdichados! ¡Cuántos pobretes están mascando barro no más de por la cólera de un juez absoluto, de un corregidor, o mal informado o bien apasionado! Más veen muchos ojos que dos: no se apodera tan presto el veneno de la injusticia de muchos corazones como se apodera de uno solo. (147-48)

In the above passage, the first speaker's anger ironically redounds to the Count's praise, but the second's theory of jurisprudence appears reasonably sound as a general principle. In typical Cervantine fashion, we are left with an ambiguous juxtaposition of contradictory attitudes. Though the passage in the Maese Pedro episode of *Don Quijote* refers to a *rey moro*, everything points, as we have seen, to the Seville of the Count of Puñonrostro, suggesting that his reforms, though they may appear attractive to those impatient with the slow wheels of judicial bureaucracy, amount in the end to 'Saracen justice.' Though Maese Pedro's boy appears confident of his ability to distinguish between 'us' and 'them' where legal rights are concerned, the web of allusions his own discourse puts in play renders the distinction hopelessly problematic. For the Count, in his attempted reforms, was not simply acting autocratically, but as an agent of the Christian monarch *par excellence.* Again, there is no outside to monarchical power.

By way of conclusion, let us return for a moment to the scenes that mimic legal proceedings, to see how the shift from Part One to Part Two has affected them. Though almost all the characters in *Don Quijote* participate in evaluating others' discourse (both oral and written), a small group of clerics and high-ranking aristocrats engage in a

special kind of judgment: they decide which stories can and cannot be told, either by means of censorship (the Priest, the Canon) or by directly staging them (the Piest, Fernando, the Duke and Duchess). Thus they do not merely respond to the demand for narrative and operate within its dictates; they initiate that demand and serve as its intradiagetic agents. They exercise a power over other characters that goes beyond the ability to persuade through a good performance, such as Marcela and Dorotea exhibit. Their power is over the means of representation. In a number of scenes, written narratives, including the different versions of *Don Quixote*, are treated as the object of legal or quasi-legal inquiry and "sentencing": the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library, which parodies an inquisitorial *auto de fe*; the Canon of Toledo's discourse on censorship; or the debate over the merits and demerits of Cide Hamete's history at the beginning of Part Two, where Sansón Carrasco, who brings the news that the book is already circulating widely throughout Spain, serves the function I have been describing.

In Part Two, this function is mainly concentrated in the Duke's palace, which becomes the setting for an extended simulacrum of chivalric adventures staged for Don Quixote and Sancho without their knowledge. They move and act in these "adventures"—one of which is Sancho's governorship of the "Isle" Barataria—as if in reality. Throughout, they are, as Henry Sullivan puts it, "the dupes of aristocratic prestige and carefully constructed lies" (57). The elaborate stagings of the Duke and Duchess provide a perfect image of the ubiquitous power of the Baroque. Like monarchical power in Foucault's interpretation of *Las Meninas*, their power over Don Quixote is a product of the system that gives it representation (3–16). Insofar as Cervantes unmasks this functioning of Baroque power as a simulacrum that envelops characters in a social world in which they have the sensation of acting freely, while others pull the strings from the outside, *Don Quixote* can be described as a counter-Baroque work.

In the *Quijote* of 1615, Cervantes is interested in early modern power *and its limitations*. Sancho is the one character who can move from being enveloped by the Duke and Duchess's simulacrum of power to stepping outside of it and renouncing it altogether, as he does when he leaves behind the governorship. He thus finds an opening through which to assert the self-governing capacity of the peasantry. Suggestively, Sancho, the illiterate peasant, repository of popular sayings and folk wisdom, occupies here a position analogous to the colonized

indigenous artisans in the Latin American Baroque. His imagination is able to take the structures of fantasy his master meekly inhabits, and hybridize them with his own brand of humor and vitality. In that extraordinary moment when Sancho persuades Don Quixote that Dulcinea is enchanted, and that only Don Quixote sees her as a rough farmgirl with garlic breath, Sancho takes the flesh-and-blood woman he has in front of him and transforms her in accordance with the chivalric style, as he understands it. But the description he offers Don Quixote of her wondrously exotic mole is unlike anything one could find in a romance text: "un lunar que tenía sobre el labio derecho, a manera de bigote, con siete o ocho cabellos rubios como hebras de oro y largos de más de un palmo" (709–10; bk. 2, ch. 10).

While Sancho's energetic optimism at the close of the work seems to suggest that it is to "the people" one must look for any alternative to the monarcho-seigneurial order, to make Cervantes an advocate of the French Revolution nearly two hundred years *avant la lettre* would be an unpardonable anachronism. Yet that is what we do, ultimately, when we simply assimilate *Don Quixote* to the modern novel, the literary expression of the hegemony of the European bourgeoisie. Cervantes was writing during the final consolidation of Absolutism, when the alliance between the aristocracy and the Crown was still being worked out. The resistance to that order we may sense in his work is the expression of a desire to preserve fragmentary pockets of self-governing at a local level. The ambitious and fully modern goal of the 'people' themselves overthrowing the monarchy in order to rule the state it had created had not yet appeared on the historical horizon.

Notes

1. Among the handful of studies that should be singled out for mention are Carreras Artau's pioneering book, Américo Castro's pages on the topic in *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, Arco y Garay's Chapter 16, "Gente de justicia," and Carmen Vega-Carney's three articles on the subject, especially the useful "Righting Wrongs."

2. I take the term "demand for narrative" from Homi K. Bhabha's essay "Sly Civility" (98–100). Bhabha himself developed the concept based on his reading of Jacques Derrida's "Living On/Border Lines."

3. In *Myth and Archive*, a suggestive study of the role of legal discourse in the development of Latin American narrative, Roberto González Echevarría points out that most of the colonial texts lumped together nowadays under the loose heading of "chronicles" where written as *relaciones*, formal documents addressed directly to a royal official or to the king himself. "The novel and the history of the New World [. . .] are like letters written to a central authority, because legal rhetoric always implies a textual exchange or dialogue, a petition or appeal or an answer to some sort of accusation" (69-70). For further discussion of the *Don Quijote* in the light of New World chronicles, see my forthcoming article "Baroque Quixote."

4. In a late essay, Joseph Silverman maintained a strong distinction between "inquisitorial" and "artistic" knowledge of "other people's lives," with the former being oppressive and the latter somehow ethically purer. As he paints it, the distinction, though well-intentioned, is hopelessly naïve. In principle, there is a difference, certainly, but it is not as black and white as Silverman would have it, and none of the many gradations is entirely free of the "taint" of coloniality of power.

5. In Book Three, Chapter 11 of *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, Cervantes presents another group of galley slaves crossing La Mancha on their way to Cartagena along the same route, though this time they are traveling by cart (543–44).

6. I wish to thank Baltasar Fra Molinero for drawing my attention to the relevance of this passage to the discussion of the *galeotes* episode as analyzed above.

7. Cervantes refers to the situation in Seville in both *El coloquio de los perros* and *La ilustre fregona*, as well as making it the main theme of *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. Arco y Garay provides a number of excellent passages from contemporary accounts expressing horror at the situation (483). Pike discusses the crime problem and Puñonrostro's aborted attempt to deal with it in *Aristocrats and Traders* (212–13).

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Is There an Author in this Text? Sidi Hamid Benengeli, *Don Quijote* and the Metafictional Conventions of Chivalric Romance

THE 98TH FACULTY RESEARCH LECTURE, UCLA

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One of the most interesting aspects of *Don Quijote*, and one that most endears Cervantes's work to us at the beginning of the theoretically hip twenty-first century, is the simultaneous presence in the text of a fiction (the story of Don Quijote and Sancho, and their adventures), and a metafiction (the story of the book itself, how it comes into existence, and what its ontological status and concrete properties are).

In 1983, I took seriously the question of Don Quijote's madness and attempted to study its etiology and course in light of the categories proposed by modern psychoanalysis. The result was a book whose immediate effect was to practically forestall any further professional advancement at UCLA, but which has come to form part of the established orthodoxy within the broader context of Cervantes studies. That book was the result of taking seriously certain elements of the fiction; today, I want to attempt to take seriously the metafiction.

Chivalric romance, the popular adventure genre that Cervantes is parodying in *Don Quijote,* has a well-defined metafictional tradition. Virtually, all the books of chivalry recount the story of their own origins, and how they came to be in the hands of the reader. The Castilian romances all purport to be the work of a trustworthy historian who has found a pre-existing manuscript written in a foreign language, which contains the fiction itself, which he then either translates himself, or causes to be translated, and then presents to the reader in the reader's language.

It is generally accepted that the *topos* of the found manuscript, the foreign language, and subsequent translation goes back to stories of

the Trojan War that circulated in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Scholarship then traces the presence of this *topos* through the medieval Grail romances and the Arthurian tradition up to the sixteenth-century Castilian romances of chivalry. The idea is to locate these books within a culturally prestigious and textually complex tradition that reaches back to the founding event of European narrative.

Chivalric romance is the literature of Christian European feudalism. Its ideological function is to celebrate the ethics, values and exploits of the warrior aristocracy that ran Europe during the Middle Ages. The extraordinary popularity of chivalric romance in the sixteenth century is a function of the transition from medieval to early modern civilization, and the rise of new classes and new forms of social and economic organization that began to displace the warrior aristocracy as the protagonist of history.

With *Amadís de Gaula* (1508), we enter the orbit of the enormously popular Castilian romances of chivalry that constituted Don Quijote's favorite reading. Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo presents himself in 1508 as the editor of the first three *libros* of the work, and as the translator of the fourth. Everyone seems to distinguish between Libros 1-3 (Montalvo really an editor of real preexisting texts), and Libro 4 (Montalvo the author of a work of fiction which he presents as a preexisting text). This is *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (1510), which recounts the exploits of Amadís's son, Esplandián. According to Montalvo, the book was found buried in a stone tomb beneath a hermitage not far from Constantinople. It was written on parchment in a language that turned out to be Greek. It was brought to Spain by a Hungarian merchant. Sure it was. The fictional author is a certain Maestro Elisabat, a character in the earlier books, who claims to have personally witnessed the "sergas" he sets down. I should point out that California, where we live and work, was actually invented by Montalvo and existed in the *Sergas de Esplandián* years before it was discovered on the ground by an expedition sent from Mexico by Hernán Cortés.

In order to save time and avoid confusion, let me just say that of the eighteen Castilian romances of chivalry published between 1508 and 1589, thirteen purport to have been written originally in Greek, and one each in Latin, English, an unspecified foreign language, and Arabic. It is worth noting the overwhelming presence of Greek as the presumed original language.

One of the interpretative difficulties that arise is due to the fact that some of the texts we read are well and truly modernized versions or translations; that is, the phantom pre-text is real. Other texts we read are based on fictional, nonexistent, truly phantom pre-texts. And as always, when it is a question of texts, there is no internal evidence in the text we read that allows us to identify and distinguish the real from the truly phantom pre-texts. With a few notable exceptions, scholarly tradition dismisses this question, and prefers to consider the found manuscript, its original language and author, as aspects of a generic convention, one of the defining features of chivalric romance.

However, in many instances the story about the found manuscript is true. The early Renaissance, the very period when the phantom manuscript versions of *Amadís*, of *Esplandián,* and the rest were being discovered in fiction, witnessed the discovery of such fundamental and absolutely real texts as Aristotle's *Poetics* and Heliodorus's *Aethiopic History*.

In addition, the same period saw the rise of printing and the consolidation of the vernacular languages as the vehicle of cultural transmission. This means that Europe was suddenly flooded with real translations of texts written originally in Greek and Latin. And if that weren't enough, chivalric romances written originally in French were being translated into Castilian (*Lanzarote del Lago*, *Búsqueda del Santo Grial*).

Virtually, the entire corpus of chivalric romance is presumed to consist of refunditions or translations of what I've been calling "phantom pre-texts." The study of these works has naturally been the study of the extant versions, what I call "the text we read." How could it be otherwise? The only text available for reading or study is "the text we read." Nevertheless, I would like to shift the focus temporarily to the phantom pre-text itself. In some cases, and certainly in the case of the *Quijote*, the fiction of the text we read invites us to take the metafictional phantom pre-text just as seriously as we take the fictional existence and adventures of the hero. That is, we are invited to approach the fiction and the metafiction in the same spirit, and treat them both with the same respect. With that in mind, we can begin to take seriously the "device" of the fictional author and the found manuscript.

François Delpech situates the relation between the text we read and the phantom pre-text within the general context of what he calls

"the motif of the book hidden and discovered," a literary device whose purpose is to confer authenticity and prestige on the work that is in fact offered to the reader. Delpech argues that whether or not the phantom pre-text exists in fact is irrelevant, that what matters is the space of real or fictional intertextuality that is opened up, the effects of perspectivism and distancing that are achieved, and the manipulation of the reader's points of reference. The shadowy presence of the phantom pre-text has a powerful effect on the reader's relation to the text she/he reads.

Delpech goes on to relate the motif of the hidden book found to the revelation of secrets. The theme of the discovery of ancient texts hidden in enclosed spaces has deep roots in the oldest traditions of the multicultural Iberian Peninsula, and the rediscovery of the importance of textuality in the Renaissance merely served to revitalize and resemanticize this cultural-representational substratum.

The secrets contained in the hidden texts, and revealed only to a few select initiates, are the essential knowledge of the universe, the answers to the Great Questions. The corollary assumption is that essential knowledge can only be secret. The widespread diffusion of the motif of the hidden book with its essential secret knowledge is related to the enduring presence in Iberian culture of what Delpech calls a subterranean current of hermetic representations, common to Christians, Muslims, and Jews; and existing in alchemical, kabbalistic, and magical writings.

A chain of transmission reaching from ancient Sumer to Jewish revelation (Moses and his tablets, Ezekiel's vision, the initiation of Enoch) to the visionary ascent of Mohammed and receipt of the Qur'an, to what has been called "Islamic Gnosticism," culminates in the belief in a secret book, composed before the beginning of time, and containing the entire history of the universe: past, present, future. This secret book is also a sacred book, the Celestial Book, the eternal, inexhaustible archetype of all the revealed books, which are merely excerpts written on parchments or tablets. From the occidental perspective, it is not difficult to assimilate Plato's notion of essences and representations to this scheme. On the oriental side, Luce López Baralt identifies this book in Islamic scripture (Qur'an 68.1) as the writing of the "supreme pen of God" (al-qalam al-a'la) on the "well-preserved tablet" (al-lawh al-mahfuz).

In the syncretic environment of Hellenistic civilization, the idea of the Celestial Book became associated with Egyptian notions of

magical inscriptions hidden in temples and tombs, and buried in pyramids. In this way, the heavenly book comes down to earth, and goes underground; and there is established a symbolic equivalence of ascension and catabasis.

Delpech's illuminating and impeccably documented study concludes with a summary. An incorporeal but nonetheless real and above all true book, that contains the secrets of the universe, exists in fragmented and degraded form in a number of material, physical texts, available only to initiates, and hidden in enclosed or subterranean spaces. The "fictitious authorship and found manuscript device" of chivalric literature turns out to have an impressive, and impressively serious pedigree.

The foregoing raises the phantom pre-texts of chivalric tradition to a status of at least equal importance to the record of the heroes' adventures. As we know, the job of every reader of narrative is to reconstruct the story (what is presumed to have happened) on the basis of the discourse (the text we read). At the metafictional level, the reader's job is the same: to reconstruct the virtual or phantom pre-text, on the basis of the actual text.

Now, we can come back to the corpus of chivalric texts, and to the question of which language or languages they are supposed to have been translated from. The question of the specific language of the phantom pre-texts has not been seriously considered in the scholarship devoted to chivalric romance. With the crucial exception of Greek, one non-Castilian language is apparently as good as another; the important thing is the original text's age and its foreignness. The notion of the Celestial Book, however, clearly privileges one particular language—the language of the Celestial Book—above all others. The Celestial Book is a divine revelation; its language is therefore the language of divine revelation. In fact, it is *the* Divine Language. Now, since we humans can never read the Celestial Book in its original language since it remains as forever inaccessible to us as the Real in Lacanian (and Platonic) thought, we People of the Book have to make do with the languages of divine revelation that are in fact accessible to us. In multicultural Iberia, there are three divine revelations, but only two languages of divine revelation. Judaism and Islam can locate their origin and legitimacy in specific texts written originally and provided directly by God in Hebrew and Arabic. The best Christianity can do is Greek, the language of the New Testament, a document produced,

as it were, from the bottom up, by human agents writing presumably under divine inspiration. There is no founding text of Christianity analogous to Moses's tablets or Mohammed's Qur'an. Hebrew and Arabic are simultaneously vernacular and sacred languages. Moses spoke Hebrew, and God spoke to him in Hebrew; Mohammed spoke Arabic, and God spoke to him in Arabic. But Jesus spoke Aramaic, a language that appears with extreme rarity and always accompanied by a translation in the New Testament. In fact, it might be said that Christianity itself exists only in translation.

By the sixteenth century, Jewish and Muslim culture, and political power in Iberia had been subordinated to Christian authority, and forced to accept the *true religion*. Alas, the true (or at least the hegemonic) religion is the only one of the three whose language is not a vehicle of divine revelation. To *hablar cristiano*, as the phrase went, that is, to speak a Romance dialect such as Castilian, is to speak a language with a permanent inferiority complex vis-à-vis the Semitic languages of the Iberian Peninsula. I believe it is that sense of inferiority, of existential insecurity, that drives the writers of so many of the Castilian romances of chivalry to seek their origins and legitimacy in Greek, the language of the New Testament and of occidental philosophical discourse, and to a lesser extent in Latin, the language of Christian European hegemony and high culture.

Within this context, *Lepolemo, el caballero de la Cruz* (1521) occupies a unique position. It is the only member of the corpus of chivalric romance that claims to be translated from Arabic. This suggests at first that *Lepolemo* seeks a different kind of legitimacy than, say, *Esplandián* and the others, who trace their lineage to Greek. I think, however, that *Lepolemo* is actually the most insecure and defensive of the Castilian romances of chivalry. There are two prologues, one by the fictional Arab author Xartón, and the other by the anonymous Christian translator, who came upon Xartón's text during his captivity in Tunis. The translator identifies the original language as Arabic. The double prologue defines the work as a discursive battleground where Arabic and Castilian contend, and where Arabic is finally subordinated to and covered over by Castilian, the language of the text we read. This struggle is acted out at the intradiegetic level in the story of Lepolemo's relations with his Muslim overlords: they never try to dissuade him from Christianity, and he succeeds in dissuading various of them from Islam. The final victory of occidental civilization and

Christianity occurs in the 1563 sequel, *Leandro el Bel*, and conflates the discursive and the fictional levels of the text: the Arab chronicler Xartón abandons Muslim North Africa, and physically relocates in Christian Europe, where he renounces Islam, and embraces Christianity. *Lepolemo, el caballero de la Cruz* enacts at both the intra- and extradiegetic levels the triumph of the Christian religion and its vernacular-only language (Castilian), which is shown to be superior to a genuine language of divine revelation (Arabic).

Cervantes does not begin the *Quijote* with a story of a found manuscript in a foreign language. The first eight chapters ignore that generic convention in favor of a polemic with Aristotle's fundamental distinction between history and fiction. The hero's true identity is unknown and unknowable because it has been set down in various incompatible forms by various authors (historians) who have already written accounts of him. In this context, the truth of the history is discovered to be unattainable, the Aristotelian distinction between history and fiction collapses, and Cervantes has demonstrated that the phenomenon of textualization automatically turns any text into a fiction, as Robert Scholes would observe some time later.

The "Arab Manchegan historian," Sidi Hamid Benengeli, does not make his appearance until chapter 9, where a narrative presence called the Second Author finds his manuscript in Toledo. A self-confessed compulsive reader, the Second Author attempts to read the papers, but cannot. They are written in characters he recognizes as Arabic, but which he cannot understand. After arranging for a translation, he combines the anti-Aristotelian polemic with the fictional authorship-found manuscript convention, and relocates everything within the context of the interethnic tensions that defined Cervantes's society. The Second Author, evidently a spokesman for the ruling Old Christian mentality, tells us that the hero's exploits (la verdad de la historia) are first written down by an Arab, and as everyone knows, Arabs are by nature untrustworthy. The Arab's already deficient version is written in an unintelligible language that needs to be translated, and as we also know, *traduttore, traditore*. The translation, itself an altered version of the original, which was full of lies and omissions to begin with, is then edited and presented for publication by the maurophobic Second Author, who is of course free to alter, and to omit portions of the translated text as he sees fit. By juxtaposing the Old Christian Second Author and the Moorish historian, Cervantes turns his text into a

discursive battleground on which two competing ideologies compete. We have the same situation we saw back in 1521 with *Lepolemo*, but within a very different context, and with very different results.

I think that after the first eight chapters, Cervantes decided to make a statement on the most explosive and divisive socio-cultural-political issue of his time: the presence, status, and future of the Morisco population in Spain. More immediately, I think the sudden and otherwise inexplicable presence of Sidi Hamid Benengeli as the responsible historian is the result of the recent appearance, in the 1590s, of a series of concrete texts related to the Morisco presence in the Spanish national prehistory and the present.

In 1492 Fernando the Catholic conquered the Nasarid Kingdom of Granada, eliminating the Muslims as an organized political presence in the Peninsula. You can read all about it in Salman Rushdie, *The Moor's Last Sigh*. Immediately following the military victory, the Catholic monarch signed a treaty with his new subjects, whereby he agreed to recognize and respect their culture, their religion, and their civilization. By 1499, however, he had decided that he had been too liberal, and that his newly-acquired Muslim subjects needed to be subject to the same requirements as his former Jewish subjects. The Muslim population of Granada was ordered to convert to Christianity, and the resulting New Christians were now called Moriscos. During the administration of the Emperor Charles V, various attempts were made to integrate the Morisco population into the majority Old-Christian culture. Financial incentives were offered to Old Christians who were willing to marry Moriscas, and to move into what had been the old Muslim quarter of their cities, with virtually no success. A pattern was established: a minority Morisco community (actually the majority in places like the old Kingdom of Granada) struggled to preserve its cultural identity—language, religion, customs and traditions, costume—in the face of an official policy of enforced conformity, which included police incursions into living quarters, arrests of suspected terrorists, and all the other aspects of this kind of program we have become all too familiar with in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries: racial profiling, ethnic cleansing, homeland security.

In 1567, the ethnic and religious tensions created by the policies of his Catholic Majesty came to a head. The Morisco population of Granada simply revolted against Old Christian political hegemony. Its leaders retreated into the mountainous region south of Granada

called the Alpujarra, and a state of civil war prevailed for about two years, when the rebellion was finally quashed by Don Juan de Austria, the illegitimate half-brother of Philip II, and perhaps the ablest military commander in Europe at the time, who incidentally would be Cervantes's commander-in-chief at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.

The Alpujarra revolt shook the country. It revealed the fragility of Old Christian control of the state and the people. It revealed the vulnerability of the national territory to invasion not only by Muslims from nearby North Africa, but also by the Evil Empire itself, in the form of the Ottoman sultan's janissaries, who were in fact called in by their Grenadine coreligionists. It called forth some fairly draconian responses. The Morisco population of Granada was forcibly resettled around the Kingdom of Castile and integrated into communities of Old Christians. One of the principal destinations for these uprooted Grenadines was Cervantes's La Mancha. His own wife was from a place called Esquivias, which was full of resettled Grenadine Moriscos. The wife of one of his closest friends, the poet Pedro Laínez, was a Morisca named Juana Gaitán. El Toboso, the home of the fictional Dulcinea, was a place almost totally populated by Moriscos. Sancho Panza's friend and neighbor Ricote, who appears in *Don Quijote II*, 54, is in all probability a Grenadine Morisco resettled in La Mancha along with so many others.

So after the Alpujarra revolts, the country becomes acutely conscious of the Morisco population and its place in society. The most extreme faction called for the physical elimination of the Moriscos, beginning with the forced castration of all the men and boys. In the end, cooler heads prevailed. Over the objections of the Valencian and Aragonese aristocrats whose prosperity depended on a huge Morisco agricultural labor force, all the Moriscos were forcibly expelled from Spain between 1609 and 1614. The effect of the expulsion on the lives of individual Spaniards is dramatized in *Don Quijote II*, 54, where Sancho runs into his old friend and neighbor, the Morisco Ricote, who tells him what his life has been like since the decree went into effect. His family has been split asunder: he thinks his wife and daughter are in Muslim North Africa, while he has settled in Protestant Germany. He has also been separated from the wealth he had managed to accumulate. The text makes it clear that he is just as Spanish as his Old Christian neighbor Sancho Panza; the only difference is that he can no longer live in his own country. He has sneaked back in, in the

company of some German pilgrims and at the risk of his life, in order to find some trace of his wife and daughter, and to recover the wealth he had buried in his backyard.

One of the consequences of the Alpujarra revolt and its aftermath was the appearance of several texts, both literary and non-literary, whose subject is the history and legitimacy of the Arab-Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula. We have to keep in mind that the land belonged to the Muslims, and was called al-Andalus for seven centuries before the Christians took it away from them, and now the descendants of those Muslims find themselves in the position of more or less humbly asserting their right to be there.

The first of these texts are the so-called "leaden tablets of the Sacro Monte" and the "parchments of the Torre Turpiana," discovered in 1588 and 1590 in the ruins of what had been a mosque in Granada. Then came a presumed historical work entitled *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo* by the Morisco Miguel de Luna, published in 1592, a revisionist version of the officially consecrated mythic beginnings of the modern Spanish Christian state. Finally, Ginés Pérez de Hita's fictionalized version of the last days of the Nazarid Kingdom of Granada, *Guerras civiles de Granada*, appeared in 1595.

My thesis is that it is Cervantes's consciousness of this sociopolitical reality and the suddenly important textual tradition that derives from it that motivated him to "moriscicize" his own text, to make it engage the most pressing social problematic of his era.

Both the *Guerras civiles de Granada* and the revisionist *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo* purport to have been written in the Arabic language by Arab historians, and translated later into Castilian. Both works also reveal a textual genealogy of sufficient complexity to have fascinated Cervantes. The *Historia verdadera* especially has to be lurking in the gestation of *Don Quijote*. Although opposed to it in many ways, Cervantes's text is imposible without Luna's *Historia verdadera*.

The link between the two is what has come to be known as the "Granada forgeries," as L.P. Harvey proposed back in 1974. Luna was one of two Morisco scholars who were hired to translate the *Pergaminos de la torre Turpiana* and the *Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte* into Spanish. Scholarship in general now considers that in all probability he and his colleague Alonso del Castillo were in fact the coauthors of both documents.

The Granada documents were part of a campaign, foredoomed to failure, by the Moriscos of Granada to assert their legitimacy as Spaniards, and their right to be in Granada. The documents purport to date from long before the Muslim invasion of 711, and they purport to document that Granada and its inhabitants had been evangelized at approximately the same time the body of Saint James the Apostle was supposed to have washed ashore up in Galicia. The present population of Granada, logically, would be the descendants of those very Old Christians. The documents further reveal unsuspected theological similarities and compatibilities between Christianity and Islam. Taken as a whole, the Granada forgeries are a pathetic attempt to arrest the tide of history, which had clearly turned against the Morisco population, by laying claim to a history that "out-Christians" the Old Christians' own history. Scholarship has preferred simply to dismiss them as a not very sophisticated hoax.

Both Américo Castro and L.P. Harvey consider that Cervantes, in his European-rationalist mode, had nothing but contempt for the Granada forgeries, that he was in effect ridiculing the Grenadine ecclesiastical establishment that continued to take them seriously even after they had been officially discredited by Rome. I would like to propose a different reading, one that resituates Sidi Hamid Benengeli more sympathetically in the context of his relationship to the Second Author.

The text we read calls Sidi Hamid an "Arab Manchegan historian" (1, 22). As a Manchegan, he is Don Quijote's *Landsman.* In order to have written about Don Quijote, he must have lived in La Mancha contemporaneous with or subsequent to him. Locating Sidi Hamid Benengeli in time and space identifies him as a Morisco. Even scholars outside the Morisco-cultural studies theoretical orbit, such as James Parr, agree that Sidi Hamid Benengeli is "no exotic Middle Easterner, nor even a North African, but ... a Manchegan Moor, ... perforce a *Morisco.*" His identity as a Morisco has consequences for the kind of manuscript he might plausibly have been able to produce. Most probably, Sidi Hamid Benengeli's manuscript is not written in the Arabic language, as all of us, including Parr in the very act of identifying Sidi Hamid as a Morisco, have always assumed. For the text to have been written in Arabic in La Mancha, Sidi Hamid Benengeli would have had to have been a participant in the brilliant culture of Muslim al-Andalus which was extinguished politically in 1492 and which began to be squeezed to death culturally in 1499, when

Fernando the Catholic abrogated the promises he had made to his new Muslim subjects. An Arabic text of the history of Don Quijote, whose exploits occur in the 1590s and after, would have to antedate the events it recounts by at least a century.

The use of the Arabic language by the Moriscos was prohibited by the pragmatic of 1567 coincident with the Alpujarra revolt, but the Moriscos had been losing Arabic for perhaps a half-century before. All the scholarly sources agree that by 1600 the Moriscos were generally ignorant of Arabic, with regional exceptions in rural Aragón and urban Valencia and Granada. Their ignorance forced them to contravene the prohibition on translating the Qur'an, a matter of the greatest seriousness, as Anwar Chejne reports:

> The doctrine of the divine origin of the Qur'an connotes the divine origin of the Arabic language itself, making it a unique language whose expression cannot be duplicated by any other tongue—hence, the prohibition of committing the Qur'an to any foreign language, on the ground that such translation would distort not only the beauty and sonority of Arabic, but the actual meaning of the Qur'an itself. This prohibition presented a dilemma for non-Arabic speaking Muslims and particularly for the Moriscos, unwilling to compromise their faith and yet unable to maintain knowledge of Arabic.

This in turn leads to the conclusion that the manuscript the Second Author discovers in Toledo is not in fact written in Arabic, but in Aljamía, a dialect of Spanish spoken by the Morisco community and written in Arabic script. For purposes of comparison, we might say that Aljamía is to Spanish as Yiddish is to German. The word derives from Arabic *ayamiya* 'foreign language,' in turn derived from *a'yam* 'barbarous, foreign.' Like the Greeks, the Arabs identified any language other than their own (and Hebrew), as "barbarous."

There is a disagreement among those scholars who identify Sidi Hamid Benengeli as a Morisco, and who want to make something of it, as to the language of his manuscript. Cervantes's text nowhere identifies the original language that Sidi Hamid Benengeli wrote in as Arabic. The Second Author reports that the manuscript he found, bundled up to be fed to silkworms, was written in "characters I recognized as Arabic, but which I could not understand."

Within Cervantes's metafiction, the discovery that Sidi Hamid Benengeli wrote in Castilian, in Arabic script, that is, in Aljamía, permits us to locate his manuscript within the canon of Aljamiado literature. It is one of a very few texts written in Aljamía to have had the good fortune of being transliterated into standard Spanish, and made available to the monographic Spanish-reading community.

The text we read is the Second Author's paraphrase of the Morisco's transliterated version of Sidi Hamid Benengeli's original text. Sidi Hamid's original is a virtual text, in the sense that it only exists in translation. It is the work of a member of a culturally impoverished, socially, and politically subordinated minority that has been overlain, made to disappear, by its "actual" version, which is the Castilian text offered by the Second Author. This process is akin to what Jean Baudrillard describes with the terms reversed, as "the liquidation of the Real and Referential," and "the extermination of the Other" by the Virtual. Baudrillard uses the suggestively pertinent phrase "ethnic cleansing" to describe the eclipse of the Real and Referential by the Virtual. I think the two versions of the *Quijote*, Sidi Hamid Benengeli's and the Second Author's, suggest that Plato was right after all, that the physical, palpable, sensible world (or text) is not the real one, but only what Plato would call a representation and Baudrillard would call a simulacrum. The simulacrum, that is, the Second Author's text, displaces and obliterates the real one, which is accessible only through a powerful and sympathetic act of imagination. Except that it is repeatedly brought to the reader's attention by the Second Author's frequently disparaging commentary. That is, it is supposed to disappear, but it won't, thanks to the Second Author's compulsive attempts to discredit it. It remains as a shadow presence, like the unassimilated Morisco population, whose linguistic expression in Aljamía exactly mirrors (or is the model for) what we observe in the *Quijote*: a hybrid form that reveals its underlying duality in the act of attempting to conceal it. The model of virtuality has recently been used to describe the Morisco community in general. (cf. Barbara Fuchs, "Virtual Spaniards: The Moriscos and the Fictions of Spanish Identity." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 2.1 (2001): 13–26).

This is how I see the relation between Sidi Hamid Benengeli's original and the Second Author's overlay version in *Don Quijote I*. In Part II things are different. As Freud discovered when he

attempted to transfer his discoveries concerning sexuality and the Oedipus complex from boys to girls, the second reality is different from the first one, and much more complex. In 1614, Luna's *Historia verdadera* was superseded as a principal intertext by the continuation of *Don Quijote* by an anonymous writer who signed himself Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda. This is not the place to enter the discussion concerning his true identity, recently reanimated by the theories of Martín de Riquer as reactivated by Alfonso Martín Jiménez. Avellaneda's Second Part changed the rules. Cervantes's Part II is a response to Avellaneda's, as Stephen Gilman and now more insistently James Iffland have shown. But, again like Freud and female sexuality, it's not that simple. Cervantes's Second Part engages Avellaneda's, and it simultaneously reacts to its own First Part. This latter relation has been well studied; I want to concentrate here on the Cervantes-Avellaneda connection.

Of course Avellaneda's book has a fictional author, and like Cervantes's Sidi Hamid Benengeli, he is an Arab. The fictitious authorship turns Avellaneda's book into another one of these virtual texts that only exist in Spanish translation, like Luna's *Historia verdadera* and Cervantes's *Don Quijote*. Scholars have in general delighted in drawing unflattering comparisons between Avellaneda's Alisolán and Cervantes's Sidi Hamid Benengeli, to conclude that Avellaneda simply didn't understand the function of the fictional author, as Cervantes did.

It is true that Alisolán is introduced in chapter 1, and then disappears until he makes a brief, inconsequential appearance in chapter 25. And at the end of his book, Avellaneda appears to have forgotten poor Alisolán completely. There is nothing like the forceful appearance of Sidi Hamid Benengeli in Cervantes's II, 74. Instead, there are references to the Manchegan archives and the diligent work of no one in particular: "Estas relaciones se han podido recoger, con no poco trabajo, de los archivos manchegos, acerca de la tercera salida de don Quijote" (462-463). However, it would be a mistake to conclude that Avellaneda is indifferent to the possibilities latent in Sidi Hamid Benengeli, or to "the Morisco question" in general.

Alisolán is presented as the translator of a text originally (and specifically) written in Arabic within a specific and limited time frame. Like Sidi Hamid Benengeli, Alisolán is modern, that is, contemporaneous with or later than Don Quijote. He is specifically identified as

an Aragonese Morisco, as Sidi Hamid Benengeli is specifically identified as a Manchegan. It may be relevant to recall that the Morisco population of Aragón was more numerous and more deeply rooted than that of La Mancha, where the vast majority of the Moriscos were settled following the Alpujarra uprising of 1567. Alisolán finds the original story of Don Quijote's adventures written in Arabic some time after the expulsion of the Moriscos from Aragón in 1609. This means that Alisolán is not the original historian, as is Sidi Hamid Benengeli, but an editor, more akin to Cervantes's Second Author combined with the anonymous aljamiado Morisco who transliterates Sidi Hamid's manuscript. This also means that the original historian, Alisolán's predecessor, was a Morisco who had not lost his command of Arabic, and that Alisolán himself also commands the sacred language of the Qur'an. This in turn suggests a regional difference, between the culturally impoverished Moriscos of La Mancha and their Aragonese cousins, a difference that Pedro Longás had noted in 1915.

Finally, these facts and this chronology suggest the first of some nagging questions. Why was Alisolán not expelled along with the other Aragonese Moriscos? It is well known that the Aragonese landowning aristocrats were dependent on Morisco agricultural labor, and that the expulsion was consequently unpopular with them. Perhaps significant numbers of Aragonese Moriscos escaped deportation. Louis Cardaillac reports that a parish priest in Tortosa, on orders from his bishop, prepared documents that allowed certain Moriscos to "quedarse como si fueran cristianos viejos."

Within Avellaneda's fiction, the status of Don Quijote's friend Don Alvaro Tarfe is even more disconcerting. He is introduced as a Morisco from Granada, "a descendant of the ancient lineage of the Tarfes, close relatives of the King, and famous in war, who became Christian after the Catholic King Fernando conquered Granada." Second question: What is this Grenadine Morisco doing wandering around in Aragón, hobnobbing with local aristocrats, getting Don Quijote released from jail on his (Don Alvaro's) recognizance and otherwise enjoying considerable social prestige and exercising considerable influence, on the eve of the expulsion? There begin to be grounds for situating Alisolán's work within a cultural context—Aragón—quite different from Sidi Hamid Benengeli's La Mancha.

Alisolán's absence from his own book is the first focus of Cervantes's reaction to Avellaneda. Everyone has observed that Sidi

Hamid Benengeli is mentioned much more frequently in Part II than he was in Part I. It is also worth noting that in Part II, but not in Part I, Sidi Hamid's original text actually bleeds through the Second Author's overlay on several occasions where the Morisco historian is allowed to speak for himself.

The two texts also react differently to the expulsion of the Moriscos. Within the fiction, life in Avellaneda's Aragón seems to go on as it always had, irrespective of the expulsion. We have already noted the ease with which Don Alvaro Tarfe moves about, his highly-placed social contacts, and so on. There is also a hilarious and ideologically fraught attempt to force Sancho to convert to Islam, with special emphasis on the perils of circumcision and dietary restrictions (351–357), as though conversion were a real possibility in 1614 (cf. Iffland, 322–325). Avellaneda aggressively denies the fact of the expulsion, while Cervantes foregrounds it and lays bare its horrible consequences, both personal and societal.

Toward the end of Cervantes's Part II, that "lying Arab" Sidi Hamid Benengeli comes forward as the guarantor of both the characters' authenticity and the "verdad de la historia," in opposition to both Avellaneda and to the maurophobic Second Author. This means, of course, that he is not a liar, nor is his text untrustworthy. As far as I know, Emilio Sola is the only other commentator who makes this crucial point (*Un Mediterráneo*, 268). In chapter 59 of Cervantes's Part II, two readers of Avellaneda's text contrast Avelleneda, not his fictional Arab author Alisolán, to Sidi Hamid Benengeli, not to Cervantes, and they declare that Sidi Hamid's Don Quijote and Sancho, not Cervantes's, are the genuine articles.

At the end, the discourse suddenly belongs to Sidi Hamid Benengeli, and as Luce López Baralt has shown, it is incomprehensible unless it is read "from the cultural coordinates of Islam" ("The Supreme Pen," 506). López Baralt interprets Sidi Hamid's pen as a version of the "Supreme Pen" (al-qalam al-a'la) of the Qur'an (68:1), which writes on the "Well-Preserved Tablet" (al-lawh al-mahfuz), which in turn contains everything that is to happen. The unalterable inevitability of Sidi Hamid Benengeli-God's pen first identifies Avellaneda's pen as false (even blasphemous), and second forecloses the possibility of any continuation. A hadith affirms "the pen has dried concerning what shall be," and even the most Islamophobic are familiar with the phrase "it is written," not to mention Omar Khayam's verses about the moving finger.

The pen's words, as projected by Sidi Hamid Benengeli, establish a necessary, organic relationship between the pen and Don Quijote himself. "Para mí sola nació don Quijote, y yo para él: él supo obrar y yo escribir, solos los dos somos para en uno." López Baralt explains the disconcerting phrase "somos para en uno," which normally refers to a betrothal, by observing that "the Supreme Pen and the Well-Preserved Tablet constitute in Islam an inviolable 'spiritual marriage'" (511). The pen makes overt reference to Avellaneda, but not to the Second Author. The final words, as López Baralt has also observed, belong not to Sidi Hamid Benengeli or to his pen, but to Cervantes himself, who recalls that "no ha sido otro mi deseo que poner en aborrecimiento de los hombres las fingidas y disparatadas historias de los libros de caballerías," which thanks to "mi verdadero don Quijote" are now doomed to extinction. The Spanish pronouns and gender-inflected endings make it clear that the speaker is no longer the feminine pen, but the masculine Cervantes.

Sidi Hamid Benengeli's virtual text now occupies the place of the Second Author's actual text, that is, the virtual text has become the genuine one. The Second Author is completely effaced, and Sidi Hamid's pen has morphed into the voice of Cervantes. It would appear that the Second Author's attempt to obliterate Sidi Hamid Benengeli's Aljamiado intertext, visible in his strategy in Part I, has been defeated, and the Second Author banished. It may be, however, that a relative balance of power has been inverted: the subaltern has become the dominant, as in Freud's famous formulation, "where Id was, there shall Ego be." And as everyone knows, that balance can be extremely precarious.

Textually, what we have been witnessing ever since Sidi Hamid Benengeli's introduction in I, 9 is a struggle for control of the discourse. Socially, this translates into a struggle for dominance, except that it doesn't really. In a diglossic, dominant/subaltern relationship such as that between Old Christians and Moriscos in 1615, the subaltern member struggles merely for the recognition and validation of his existence by the Other, just as Don Quijote's existential project turns out to be a version of the same struggle. Now, in the fiction, Don Quijote's struggle ends in failure: he is forced to renounce his project and his existence as Don Quijote. In the metafiction, it plays out differently. As we have just observed, the Second Author, the spokesman for the Old Christian Establishment, is effaced and

replaced first by Sidi Hamid Benengeli, then by Sidi Hamid's pen (and this may be the place to make the pen-phallus connection), and then by the fictionalized, textualized presence of the "real" author, returning to his own project as enunciated in the prologue to Part I.

Fragments, Patterns, and the Modernization of the City through the Crônicas of João do Rio

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For the journalist and *cronista* João do Rio (1881–1921), the changing role of the writer in *belle époque* Rio de Janeiro was fused into the kaleidoscope of the city itself. The project of modernization was one of both destruction and renovation. Through João do Rio's *crônicas*, we see the city broken into fragments, and the pieces rearranged in new and unexpected ways. Likewise, we see the writer trying to redefine his role in society through innovative artistic forms of expression. João do Rio chose the *crônica* as his preferred literary genre, but in a way, it was the *crônica* that chose him, influencing him as a writer. Paying special attention to all things non-traditional, he would explore the meaning of everyday activities, help to disseminate new ideas, and document changes in a city eager to become modern. He would come across a variety of characters and places, including adolescents who made a living by collecting and selling used rags, opium dens full of naked Chinese immigrants, obsessed window shoppers with no money, and cruel policemen who made fun of homeless orphans before arresting them for vagrancy. He would often bring these marginal characters into the center of his writings as he theorized about the space of the city. Fascinated by the creative ways in which the most destitute of people managed to survive while simultaneously aware of his own relation to the marketplace as a wage-earning specialist, he would publish his findings about the city and its people in *crônicas* in order to make a living for himself as a journalist. Much of what he would come across while strolling about would have a dizzying effect on him, prompting him to refer to the city as a "cosmopolis num kaleidoscopio" (*Alma* 98).[1]

1. The recasting of literary forms

João do Rio was not a mere reporter of facts, but instead an artist who actively inserted himself in the changing role of writing. Traditional conceptions of literary forms and genres had been called into question in the late nineteenth century, due in large part to the explosion of journalistic writing. This trend continued into the twentieth century, leading Walter Benjamin to note that "we are in the midst of a mighty recasting of literary forms, a melting down in which many of the opposites in which we have been used to think may lose their force" ("Author" 224). Literary genres such as the novel or the tragedy, for example, have not always existed, and there is no reason to believe that they will necessarily persist in the future. The *crônica*, as a new genre in the early twentieth century, reflected the changing role of writing in society.

Benjamin argued that the newspaper indiscriminately assimilated the facts. The result is a literary confusion that would seem to lead to the decline of writing. While this may have happened in many cases, it could also be the formula for the revival in writing. In his study "The Author as Producer," Benjamin gives what was perhaps the clearest example of this during his time, which was that of the Soviet Union:

> For as writing gains in breadth what it loses in depth, the conventional distinction between author and public, which is upheld by the bourgeois press, begins in the Soviet press to disappear. For the reader is at all times ready to become a writer, that is, a describer, but also a prescriber. As an expert—even if not on a subject but only on the post he occupies—he gains access to authorship. Work itself has its turn to speak. (225)

While João do Rio did not subordinate his art to politics, the comparison is nonetheless valid in that he served as a bridge between the literary elite and the general public. His social positioning gave him insight to both the perspective of the author as well as that of the reader. He was a *reader turned author*. The function of his work far outweighed its intention in importance. As Benjamin points out in the same article, it is common to ask what the *attitude* of a work is to relations of production (in the Marxist sense), but what really matters is not its attitude but instead what the *position* is in them (222). In other words, the degree to which a literary work can be considered

revolutionary or reactionary is less important than the work's function within the relations of production. Thus, the "mighty process of recasting" that Benjamin talks about affects not only the traditional distinctions between genres, but also the traditional distinctions made between writer and poet, and between author and reader. The press is perhaps the best example of this, and therefore, must be included in any discussion about the writer as producer.

Aware of his ambiguous identity as a writer, journalist, ordinary citizen, and profit-making vendor concerned with innovative literary forms, João do Rio was proud to be recognized by the Academia Brasileira de Letras. He was accepted in 1910 at 29 years of age, the youngest member to ever have been admitted. This was an exceptional achievement, especially considering that he was recognized not as a novelist, but rather as a journalist. He insisted that any writer could be a diplomat, while not every diplomat could be a writer: "Arte não póde estar ao alcance de qualquer, mesmo ministro plenipotenciario" ("Resposta" 190). Of course, a eulogy of the Academia from within that institution is perhaps not the most objective opinion, as is obvious when he suggests that "A Academia é, entretanto, a alta esphera de onde deve irradiar a chamma conductora do bem da patria" (192). Still, his words reflect his esteem for writing, which he believed was undermined by journalists and other writers who lacked literary talent. He resented the fact that many people had ended up in the profession of writing due not to any particular abilities, but rather due to having failed at everything else, which is the topic of one crônica in Cinematographo:

> Um cidadão qualquer fracassou em todas as profissões, quebrou, foi posto fóra de um club de jogo. Que faz? É jornalista. Aquelle moço bonito, cuja bolsa parca só se compara á opulencia de vontade de frequentar as rodas chics, vê-se a beira do abismo? Não ha hesitações. Faz-se jornalista. O idiota que quer gastar dinheiro, o industral esperto, o politico com apetites de chefe, estão em crise? Surge imediatamente o jornal para lançal-os, lançado por elles. (261–62)

He complained that, in Brazil, one does not need to have any particular qualities, such as style, good grammar, experience, or even common sense in order to be a journalist.

João do Rio's praise for the prestigious Academia Brasileira de Letras and his distain for untalented journalists might seem to suggest an elitist perspective of the role of literature in society, but in fact, it is just the opposite. He was accepted by the literary elite of Rio de Janeiro and attempted to utilize his prominence to question traditional ideas of literary genres while at the same time distance himself from those who used writing merely as a means to earn money. Furthermore, he used his writing to communicate both with the common people and with the socially elite.

The genres João do Rio adopted for writing, such as the *crônica* and reportage, were chosen, in no small part, because of the facility with which these styles of writing could find an audience by way of the newspaper. Even when he deviated from his writing of articles and *crônicas*, his journalistic style would persist, as is clear when reading his novels. Jacques Pedreira, the protagonist of his first novel, *A profissão de Jacques Pedreira* (1911), and arguably one of his greatest literary inventions, is a transparent, two-dimensional character that, as Flora Süssekind points out, "seems to have stepped right out of an illustrated magazine" (55). He embodies the fashion styles and the frivolousness of the *carioca* elite, and leads the life of a dandy. Many aspects of the sort of lifestyle led by Jacques Pedreira would be explored by João do Rio in his *crônicas*. For example, in the *crônica* "Flirt," João do Rio explains how flirting has in large part taken the place of love in modern society. It is explained in terms of a novelty, of something new that the older generation would likely not understand. It is also described as an urban phenomenon, happening quickly and spontaneously. For these reasons, it has much in common with the *crônica*, which is written and read quickly, unlike the longer, more cumbersome novel, which was more suitable for a slower lifestyle: "O Flirt corresponde a electricidade, e a rapidez contemporaneas, e literalmente assim como o romance correspondia á fatal paixão—hoje reflecte o unico genero de literatura lido—a chronica" (*Psicologia* 138). Through the fictitious character of Jacques Pedreira, João do Rio writes a continuation of his *crônica* on the phenomenon of flirting. These are examples of how João do Rio's fiction was intertwined with his journalism, and how he attempted to elevate the *crônica* to the status of a literary genre.

Süssekind refers to the "mimetic relationship with journalistic language" in the fiction of João do Rio (7). The clearest example of this

is perhaps *A correspondência de uma estação de cura* (1918), a novel that consists solely of a series of letters written by guests in a resort town. There is no narrator, which forces the reader to link the letters in order to create a coherent whole. This absence of a narrator highlights the novel's relation to journalistic writings. The letters are juxtaposed in a seemingly arbitrary way but, due to the content of the letters, one could argue there is a newspaper-like organization, including a literary section, an opinion column, and other such parts determined by each writer's area of interest. It is as if each letter writer were a columnist for a certain section of a newspaper. This is an example not only of the relation between literature and journalism in João do Rio, but also of the relation between author and reader: the reader must actively engage with the written text in order to construct a novel lacking a narrator.

While João do Rio enjoyed much professional success during his lifetime, future generations have been somewhat less kind to him. The crossing of literary boundaries is perhaps one of the main reasons that he has often been excluded from histories of Brazilian literature. Crediting him with having been a great journalist but a poor writer of other genres, Lúcia Miguel Pereira insisted in 1950 in the *História da literatura brasileira* that João do Rio "pertence inegàvelmente à sub-literatura, no que toca à ficção—novela, conto, ou teatro" (277). While he has been more highly regarded by recent critics, he continues to be seen as marginal to the canon.

2. The Modernization of Rio de Janeiro

José Luis Romero demonstrates in *Latinoamérica: las ciudades y las ideas* how the combination of being both a port city and a capital city proved to be an optimal condition for the project of modernity in Latin America: Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro being the best examples. Through their ports, they received the latest news, ideas, and styles from Europe. They were furthermore the destination of the majority of European immigrants, who brought with them not only their labor power, but also their cultures. While the geographical location of Rio de Janeiro contributed to the flourishing of modernity, it also led to some undesired consequences in the early twentieth century. As João do Rio explains:

> [S]ão ruas da proximidade do mar, ruas viajadas, com a visão de outros horisontes. Abri uma dessas posilgas

> que são a parte do seu organismo. Haveis de ver chinezes bebados de opio, marinheiros embrutecidos pelo alcool, feiticeiros ululando canções sinistras, toda a estranha vida dos portos de mar. E esses beccos, essas betesgas têm a perfidia dos oceanos, a miseria das emigrações, e o vicio, o grande vicio do mar e das colonias [. . .]. (*Alma* 15)

Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century was economically dependent on countries of the North Atlantic, primarily France and England. The tremendous influence that these countries had on Brazil went far beyond the realm of economics. They were the role models for "civilization" and "progress." Brazil sought to reinvent its capital city of Rio de Janeiro based on nineteenth-century Paris, focusing on the massive urban projects of demolition and reconstruction carried out there from 1853 to 1870, dreamed of and realized by Napoleon III and the administrator Georges Eugene Haussmann. During that period, Haussmann oversaw the construction and demolition of overcrowded, slum ridden, working class neighborhoods. Huge monuments and modern buildings replaced dilapidated houses. Paris became both a symbolic and a practical city, and would come to serve as a model for Rio de Janeiro and other Latin American cities in the twentieth century.

The most significant modernization projects in Rio de Janeiro took place under the impetus of Rio's mayor Pereira Passos, working first under President Campos Sales (1898–1902), and then under President Rodriquez Alves (1902–1906). This administration widened the dark and narrow streets of the *cidade velha*, which allowed for better movement through the city, more light, and better circulation of air. They renovated and modernized the old port. They tore down old buildings and built new streets, including the new avenues, which connected the *cidade velha* to the port, to Zona Sul, and to Zona Norte. The streets were paved, and sidewalks were constructed. Pereira Passos also used his influence to implement new city ordinances in his general attack on traditional *carioca* life. It became prohibited to do many things in the streets, such as sell pigs, fresh milk, and other food, or leave meat hanging in the doorways of butcher shops. He also banned stray dogs and ordered the façades of buildings to be repainted regularly.

Symbolic proof that Brazil was becoming "civilized" and "modern" appeared almost immediately. Some 590 buildings were

torn down in an 18-month period between 1904 and 1905, as well as chunks of the *morros* of São Bento and Castelo, in the construction of the new Avenida Central that would divide the *cidade velha* in North and South. Once completed, façades clearly modeled after Haussmann and France's Beaux-Arts lined the avenues. The latest fashions in clothing and goods were displayed in shop windows, accentuating the importance of the expanding consumer economy. Monumental constructions such as the Teatro Municipal and the Biblioteca Nacional reflected the grandeur of European culture. This was a metaphor for a new era. A rupture with the past symbolized the optimism for the future (Needell 127–9).[2]

João do Rio welcomed all things new but, more insightful than many of his contemporaries, he recognized the new as just as ephemeral as the old. In a *crônica* entitled "A pintura das ruas," he visits some artists painting in the streets, and comes across one painting in particular that gets his attention. It is of the new Avenida Central, which was a symbol and proof of a new, modernized Rio de Janeiro. The city's progress had been captured by this unknown painter, and would thus be preserved forever on the canvas. Of course, "forever" meant merely until the time in which they tore down the street on which the painting was found:

> O pintor, naturalmente agitado pelo orgulho que se apossou de todos nós ao vermos a Avenida Central, resolveu pintal-a, tornal-a immorredoura, da rua do Ouvido á Prainha. A concepção era grandiosa, o assumpto era vasto—o advento do nosso progresso estatelava-se alli para todo o sempre, *emquanto não se demolir a rua do Nuncio.* (*Alma* 83–4) (The italics are mine.)

Clearly, everything was changing, and what was here today might very well be gone tomorrow. João do Rio's *crônicas* are like literary snapshots of modernity that attempt to capture the fleeting moment.

3. Rio de Janeiro's Twentieth-century *Flâneur*

There was an intimate relation between the city and the writer in the case of João do Rio.[3] The experience of walking around Rio de Janeiro allowed him to absorb the urban landscape, and continuously deepen his understanding of the city and its inhabitants. This experience of

wandering about the city was, of course, not invented by João do Rio. Raymond Williams notes that "perception of the new qualities of the modern city had been associated, from the beginning, with a man walking, as if alone, in its streets" (233). Out of the context of nineteenth-century Paris came the *flâneur*: the idler and wanderer who is a keen observer of the streets, fashion, professions, personality types, and every other detail of everyday life in the city. Strolling had not been possible in many parts of Paris until Haussmann came along. Widened streets and sidewalks gave the stroller a much safer place to walk. Even more important was the invention of the arcades, which offered lighted passageways, lined with shops through entire complexes of houses. The street then became a sort of dwelling for the stroller, or *flâneur* (Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire* 37). The new boulevards, cafés, and arcades combined public and private spaces. These spaces became voyeuristic zones for the *flâneur*, who is most at home in the midst of the crowds. Well versed in the French literary traditions of the nineteenth century, João do Rio assumed the role of the *flâneur*, wandering about the city with a watchful eye, observing the people and the streets of Rio de Janeiro. His wandering was reminiscent of that of Charles Baudelaire's poem "The Sun": "I walk alone, absorbed in my curious exercise / Dueling with words that dodge in corners and byways" (5–6). As Baudelaire strolled the streets of nineteenth-century Paris, João do Rio would do the same in twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro.[4]

João do Rio's *crônicas* bear witness to the evolving role of the writer in society. The writer would have to fight for an artistic identity while conforming to the socio-economic demands of the market. The new Rio de Janeiro was open for interpretation. João do Rio would construct a particular vision of the city for his readers that allowed for a special place for the writer. Not wanting to be reduced to the status of a mere wage-earning specialist, he sought to emphasize the social importance of the work of the *cronista*, which necessarily required wandering about the city. As Benjamin explains, "Basic to flânerie, among other things, is the idea that the fruits of idleness are more precious than the fruits of labor" (*Arcades* 453).

João do Rio's first step was to insert himself into the city as a pedestrian. The presence of pedestrians is perhaps the first criterion for a city to be able to exist as a social system comprised of spacial and human elements. "The act of walking," according to Michel de

Certeau, "is to the urban system what the act of speaking, the *Speech Act*, is to language or to spoken utterance" (106). The pedestrian appropriates the topographic system, realizes its spatial dimensions, and relates distinct positions through movement. This is akin to the way in which a speaker appropriates language, puts it into use through sound waves, and establishes communication with other speakers. "A first definition of walking thus seems to be a space of uttering" (Certeau 106).

Rio de Janeiro in the early twentieth century had much in common with Paris of the mid-nineteenth century. The urban reforms of Paris that created both a physical and literary space for the *flâneur* inspired the modernization of Rio de Janeiro, which had similar consequences. The new Rio was an unwritten book, and João do Rio would become one of its most insightful authors as he wandered throughout the city, relating his experiences in fragments. *Flanar,* the Portuguese word for playing the role of the *flâneur*, is referred to as a sport and as an art by João do Rio. But it is also a form of identification, a way of inserting himself into his own narration. It is what gives him access to what he calls the soul of the street, and it is a way of creating a place for himself as a writer in society. João do Rio explains:

> Flanar! Ahi está um verbo universal sem entrada nos diccionarios, que não pertence a nenhuma lingua! Que significa flanar? Flanar é ser vagabundo e reflectir, é ser basbaque e commentar, ter o virus da observação ligado ao da vadiagem. (*Alma* 7)

It involves wandering, observing, and mixing with everyone and everything, including the most diverse and outrageous elements of the population. The *flâneur* always has a head full of ideas, and constantly speculates on the professions, concerns, and crimes of the people in the streets. He goes about indiscriminately, content with all he finds:

> O *flaneur* é o *bonhomme* possuidor de uma alma igualitaria e risonha, fallando aos notaveis e aos humildes com doçura, porque de ambos conhece a face mysteriosa, e cada vez mais se convence da inutilidade da colera e da necessidade do perdão [. . .]. (*Alma* 8)

João do Rio wants to see himself as a *flâneur,* and indeed has much in common with this nineteenth-century social and literary figure. Yet, his relationship to the crowds is different from that of the nineteenth-century *flâneur.* Literary representations of an individual overtaken by the sensation of being amidst a big-city crowd go back at least as far as Poe's classic "The Man of the Crowd," in which the protagonist is compelled to follow a stranger through the crowded streets of London in order to study his behavior. The protagonist, however, is an external observer in this story, going unnoticed by the crowds and by the man he is following: "Never once turning his head to look back, he did not observe me" (312). Even when the protagonist allows himself to be seen, he goes unnoticed, as the other man sees him as an anonymous face in the crowd: "I grew wearied unto death, and, stopping fully in front of the wanderer, gazed at him steadfastly in the face. He noticed me not, but resumed his solemn walk, while I, ceasing to follow, remained absorbed in contemplation" (314). For the *flâneur*, the possibility of seeing without being seen was an essential part of wandering. In his essay "The Painter of Modern Life," Baudelaire comments on this aspect of *flânerie*:

> For the perfect *flâneur*, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the center of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world—such are a few of the slightest pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. (9)

By João do Rio's time, something profound had occurred in the composition of Western cities. As they became modernized, the crowds grew to such an extent that the multitude ceased to be something external, and became intrinsic: the observer had come to recognize himself as a part of the multitude which, in some ways, negated his privileged perspective as a *flâneur,* who was a marginalized character that remained largely unaffected by all that went on around him.

As with the pre-Hausmann Parisian *flâneur,* the twentieth-century *Carioca flâneur* would not have had a very extensive space for

strolling before the city became modernized. And even with Pereira Passos's great effort to adapt Hausmann's project in Paris to Rio de Janeiro, turning Rio into the Paris of South America would prove difficult for many reasons. Its colonial past was not easy to overcome. Furthermore, it was in the tropics, and some things, such as London-style public gardens, made little sense there. Also, the technology had changed drastically by the beginning of the twentieth century. The invention of the automobile alone would have a huge influence on how streets were designed. Pereira Passos's modernization project could never really imitate that of Paris, but it could certainly adapt it to a new place and time.

Likewise, João do Rio would have to reinvent the *flâneur* to a new, Brazilian reality. The time of the classic Baudelairian *flâneur* had long since passed. The arcades went out of style, which meant the demise of the stroller. Furthermore, where that other, nineteenth-century *flâneur* could offer comforting remedies for the social problems of the era, urbanization in João do Rio's time was taking on a less positive connotation as cities became overcrowded. The view of the city as the optimal place for progress and social ascension was turning into a vision of the menacing dangers of the big city. The leisurely stroller of the nineteenth century would eventually turn into more of a detective in the crime-ridden metropolis of the twentieth century. As Julio Ramos puts it, "The rhetoric of strolling, previously formalized in the crônica, becomes a paradigmatic mode of representation for the dangers of a new urban life" (136).

In Baudelaire's time, the *flâneur* liked to consider himself a bohemian gentleman, not a wage-earning worker in a capitalist society. As Benjamin explains: "His leisurely appearance as a personality is his protest against the division of labour which makes people into specialists. It is also his protest against their industriousness" (*Charles Baudelaire* 54). This would seemingly make the *flâneur* of the twentieth century, now fully aware of his position as a wage-earning specialist, an anachronism. Or even worse: as the writer is stripped of his elevated social status as an intellectual and ultimately reduced to his labor power, his condition comes to resemble that of the prostitute. Ramos asks: "[I]s not the crônica precisely an incorporation of art into the market, into the emergent culture industry? And was not mercantilization, following the idealism professed by many modernists, a form of prostitution?" (139).

We witness João do Rio not wanting to see himself as a mere commodity in "Os mercadores de livros e a leitura das ruas," in which a "chusma incontavel" of book vendors spreads out in the streets every morning with cheap editions of prayers pamphlets, collections of popular songs, love stories, and other publications of little literary merit (*Alma* 74). Turning a huge profit, these book vendors are completely uninterested in literature, and are merely trying to sell a product. He refers to the trade as:

> [E]ssa prospera profissão da miseria, que todas as cidades têm, avida e lamentavel, num arregimentar de pobres propagandistas do Evangelho e do Espiritismo, de homens que a sorte deixou de proteger, de malandros cynicos, de rapazes vadios [. . .]. (*Alma* 75-6)

He watches others as if he were looking through a mirror, perhaps afraid of being identified with either the vendors or the low-brow literature circulating in the streets. Like these vendors, he too was a seller of the written word, writing for newspapers in exchange for money. The literary field is not only a field of forces, but also a field of struggles, as Pierre Bourdieu has argued (312). João do Rio struggled to redefine his role as a writer before the cultural industry had been established in Brazil, but with the realization that writing was increasingly linked to the marketplace. Shocked at seeing something of his own reflection in the street vendors' trade, he tries desperately to distance himself as a writer as much as possible. Once the *flâneur* recognizes himself in the marketplace, he certainly loses his innocence, if not his entire reason of being. Ramos explains this identity crisis that the *flâneur* experiences:

> Once the writer—his protective veil broken—recognizes his reflection in the glass showcase, he begins to see himself as an other, at times as a prostitute. Among other things, the decorative assemblage of beauty becomes complicated. Beginning with this moment, the *literato*, even the chronicler, ceases to be a compliant flâneur. (140)

It was not possible for João do Rio to overlook his labor power as a commodity. He was undeniably integrated into the marketplace.

His originality lies in that he went out of his way to redefine himself as a *flâneur*, not out of self-denial or ignorance, but rather out of a keen awareness of his situation. While the Baudelairian *flâneur* created a space for himself in society by resisting the division of labor that would have turned him into a specialist, João do Rio would create a space for himself as a prevailing *flâneur* in spite of his wage-earning status. If the streets were a "transformadora de línguas" (*Alma* 5), then the unique streets of Rio could certainly provide João do Rio with a particular definition of the word *flâneur.* He sought to embrace everything that the new city of masses had to offer, good and bad, and from within the vortex of modernity, find a place for himself as a writer.

João do Rio parts from the traditional role of the *flâneur* in other ways as well. Whereas the traditional *flâneur* is a pedestrian, this is not the case in "Como se ouve a missa do 'gallo.'" Hoping to see several midnight masses (not out of any sort of religious devotion, but rather out of his relentless curiosity about human behavior), he travels by car, and instructs the driver where to go. In this *crônica,* we are able to catch a glimpse of the chaos brought about by the new, overcrowded city, combined with the presence of the automobile competing for space, in streets that were not intended for such modern inventions. All this occurs in the context of the midnight mass on Christmas Eve, a popular occasion attracting people from the most diverse backgrounds. João do Rio's first destination is Copacabana, and the trip begins peacefully as they travel down the newly constructed Beira-Mar Avenue, now fully illuminated by electric lighting. Other cars are on the road, and the passengers are the wealthy elite of Rio, proud to show off their wealth, and see others of their class do the same. Everything is going fine until they reach the end of the avenue and must enter the old streets:

> Quando, no fim da avenida, os automoveis seguiram pelas antigas ruas, cada encontro de bonde era uma catastrophe. Os *tramways*, apezar de comboiarem tres carros, iam com gente até nos tejadilhos, e essa gente furiosa, numa furia que lembrava bem a vertigem de Dionysios, berrava, apostrophava, atirava bengaladas num despejo de corpos e de conveniencias. Entretanto, pelas mesmas ruas, a corrida augmentava e era uma disparada louca entre vociferações, sons de corneta, *tren-ten-tems* de bondes, estalar de chicote.

> Quando passámos o tunnel num fracasso de metralha e demos nos campos de Copacabana, a velocidade foi vertiginosa [. . .]. (*Alma* 136)

This sort of high-paced, whirlwind description of Rio de Janeiro can also be seen in João do Rio's novel *A profissão de Jacques Pedreira*. As in the novel, João do Rio describes in the above citation the clash of the old with the new in a rapidly modernizing Rio de Janeiro. One of the most salient characteristics of the *new* was the speed of it all: the speed of social and physical transformation of the city, and the speed of the automobile from which João do Rio liked to observe his surroundings. This is in sharp contrast to literary works of the same period such as Godofredo Rangel's Vida ociosa, which takes place on a farm, and most of the events occur within a single day. It is as if the present were intentionally slowed down to highlight the difference between country and city life in this novel. Conversely, there seems to be an acceleration of time in João do Rio's writings. As Süssekind explains, "While the *cronista* attempts to incorporate into his own writing the haste that is characteristic of urban life, the regionalist writer tries to reconstruct the unhurried pace of the backwoods" (64). The new metropolitan culture of Rio was a world in and of itself, and João do Rio, like many writers from the city, was largely detached from the countryside. This is a twentieth-century phenomenon, as Williams explains:

> City experience was now becoming so widespread, and writers, disproportionately, were so deeply involved in it, that there seemed little reality in any other mode of life; all sources of perception seemed to begin and end in the city, and if there was anything beyond it, it was also beyond life. (235)

In "Como se ouve a missa do 'gallo,'" João do Rio's description of the chaos he encounters upon arriving at the church captures the essence of the *mass* (not the religious ceremony of the Catholic Church, but rather *mass* in the sense of an aggregation of many people):

> Cerca de tres mil pessoas—pessoas de todas as classes, desde a mais alta e a mais rica á mais pobre e á mais baixa, enchia

> aquelle trecho, subia promontorio acima. E o aspecto era edificante. Grupos de rapazes apostavam em altos berros subir á igreja pela rocha; mulheres em desvario galgavam a correr por outro lado, patinhando a lama viscosa. Todos os trajes, todas as cores se confundiam num amalgama formidavel, todos os temperamentos, todas as taras, todos os excessos, todas as perversões se entrelaçavam. [. . .] Todo esse pessoal gritava. (*Alma* 136-7)

João do Rio is clearly fascinated by this mass culture and compelled to participate, which he does by attending such events, and then writing down his experiences and impressions, and publishing them in the form of *crônicas*.

The actual midnight mass is of little, if any importance to him. His only real interest is in the experience of going from church to church in search of crowds of people to observe. The crowds are his true interest, but moving about by car in search of the crowds is certainly another interest and pleasure. He arrives by car, leaves by car, and in this way is able to see not one, but many midnight masses in the same night. It effectively allows him to be in many places at the same time, analogous to the way in which the newspaper, so much a part of João do Rio's existence, allowed readers to experience many different places at once. The automobile has given him a sense of freedom that would have been unknown to the previous generation. It is a metaphor for the rapid transformations that occurred both on the physical level of the city, as buildings were torn down and streets were widened, as well as on the social level, as Brazilians became aware that they were embarking on a journey into an uncertain future. In another *crônica*, João do Rio comments on this most modern of inventions: "E, subitamente, é a era do Automovel. O monstro transformador irrompeu, bufando, por entre os descombros da cidade velha, e como nas magicas e na natureza, asperrima educadora, tudo transformou com apparencias novas e novas aspirações" (Vida 3).

4. Theorizing the Streets

While the differences between the rich and the poor were perhaps as apparent in João do Rio's time as they are today, the spirit of modernity lent itself well to a general feeling of optimism. The street is a public space, heterogeneous by definition. It can be a space of conflict, but

most importantly, it is a point of contact. If streets did not make the injustices go away, it was thought, they at least offered a space in which people of diverse backgrounds and their corresponding ideas could come into contact with one another and dispute, challenge, agree, or disagree. It is this sort of optimism about modernity that can be seen in much of João do Rio's writing, and perhaps nowhere more clearly than in his detailed explanations of the real and symbolic meaning of the street. His insightful observations of the continuously changing nature of the streets can be seen as a precursor to a theory of the city. Certeau would later argue that the concept of the city functions as "a site of transformations and appropriations, the object of interventions, but also a subject continually being enriched with new attributes: simultaneously the plant and the hero of modernity" (104). This concept was clear to João do Rio many years before it was articulated by Certeau.

Perhaps his most noteworthy analysis of the importance of the street is a *crônica* appropriately entitled "A rua." Far more than a mere physical space through which people pass, a street, for João do Rio, is a living entity which has a soul and a personality, as suggested by the title of the book in which the *crônica* was published in 1908: *A alma encantadora das ruas*. The *cronista* is the keen observer of the street, but the reader also plays an important role in the discovery of the soul of the street, as Renato Cordeiro Gomes has noted: "A alma encantadora, contudo, não está aí previamente dada: é construção do flâneur e, colado a ele, do leitor" (69).

João do Rio believes in the streets' ability to bring people together: "Nós somos irmãos, nós nos sentimos parecidos e iguaes, nas cidades, nas aldeias, nos povoados, não porque soffbetween, com a dor e os desprazeres, a lei e a policia, mas porque nos une, nivela e agremia o amor da rua" (*Alma* 3). He says that every house was built with human sweat, and the street, which encompasses the buildings that line it, feels the pain and effort of all those who contributed to it: "A rua sente nos nervos essa miseria da creação, e por isso é a mais igualitaria, a mais socialista, a mais niveladora das obras humanas" (*Alma* 5). João do Rio's view of the street as an egalitarian space challenges the traditional dichotomy of public and private spaces. He sees Brazil as a gigantic house whose inhabitants are all linked by a general sense of solidarity.[5] Within this house, the residents move seamlessly from room to room through doorways that serve less as barriers than thresholds.

The street is not limited to the strict dictionary meaning. It constantly escapes definition due to its continuously transforming nature. Furthermore, it has the power to change languages. The dictionary is conservative by nature, in that, it attempts to fix the meanings of words, and only reluctantly acknowledges new words or new meanings of words. On the other hand, the street, as a heterogeneous social space, is a vehicle through which words can freely mutate without having to conform to fixed meanings:

> A rua é a transformadora das linguas. [. . .] A rua continúa, matando substantivos, transformando a significação dos termos, impondo aos diccionarios as palavras que inventa, creando o calão que é o patrimonio classico dos lexicons futuros. (*Alma* 5)

The street defies the logic of the dictionary, and subverts the authority of it. According to João do Rio, a dictionary will define a street as a mere thoroughfare, yet it is that and much more. It is also a public space, and it is precisely in that space that new words are invented and existing words take on new meanings. New slang is invented, foreign words are adopted, and common words are used in new contexts, as people search for new forms of expression. As Raúl Antelo explains, the street "transforma as normas e a gramática, tudo acolhe e até consagra o medíocre" (13).

João do Rio claims that streets are living entities. Each one has its own personality. The Rua do Ouvidor, for example, is the braggart: "É a fanfarronada em pessoa, exaggerando, mentindo, tomando parte em tudo, mas desertando, correndo os taipaes das montras á mais leve sombra de perigo" (*Alma* 11). The Rua da Misericórdia, on the other hand, is described as "perpetuamente lamentavel," with its dilapidated buildings and dingy lodging houses (*Alma* 11). This street is symbolic of the origin of the city, and a constant reminder of the horrors of the colonial past, which Brazil as a country was desperately trying to forget by the early twentieth century.

João do Rio was somewhat of a paradox. He was clearly fascinated by the more marginal sectors of society, as can easily be noted by his indiscriminate wandering through the streets of Rio de Janeiro, and his mixing with people of all walks of life. At the same time, he was accepted by the *Carioca* elite and found a way to portray them

more or less the way they wanted to see themselves. With a keen sense of his surroundings, he was able to actively insert himself into society as a writer, and disseminate both his own ideas as well as those of others. Furthermore, he was able to make timeless the ephemeral by chronicling the events of a rapidly transforming world in a highly unique literary language. He clearly represented the fragments of society rather than the whole, and yet those fragments came from such a wide range of places, and were so vividly portrayed in his writings, that it is as if the streets and the people in them molded together, along with the very pages on which they were described, forming an inseparable unity of author, characters, and city.

Notes

1. The original orthography has been carefully maintained in this and other citations from early editions.

2. Some other public works overseen by Pereira Passos besides the ones already mentioned include: the Leme Tunnel, the Avenida Atlântica de Copacabana (connecting Flamengo and Botafogo), the construction of a new *mercado municipal*, and the construction and embellishment of many plazas, such as the Praça XV, Praça 11 de Junho, Praça Tiradentes, Praça Glória, el Largo do Machado, the Passeio Público, and Campo de Santana (Needell 127–9).

3. João do Rio was born João Paulo Alberto Coelho Barreto. He used many different pseudonyms of which the most famous was João do Rio.

4. There are striking similarities between Charles Baudelaire and João do Rio, especially in their identification with the literary and social figures of the *flâneur* and the dandy. In reality, Baudelaire died in Paris in 1867, some fourteen years before João do Rio was born. However, the parallels between the two inspired the historical novel by Iterbio Galiano Aldrighti entitled Doidas conversas: João do Rio, o anfitrião de Charles Baudelaire (2001). The novel takes place in Rio de Janeiro, shortly after the construction of the Avenida Central. Baudelaire visits the Brazilian capital, and becomes friends with João do Rio. Turn-of-the-century Rio de Janeiro is brought to life with the conversations between the two *flâneurs*, which include many passages from João do Rio's *crônicas*.

5. A similar argument is made by Roberto Da Matta in *A casa e a rua: espaço, cidadania, mulher e morte no Brasil.*

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Sobre la cultura iconográfica de Cervantes (Ejemplos en el *Quijote*)

Margarita Lezcano y Enrique Rodríguez Cepeda

A la bien organizada banda de cervantistas del Sur de California

"Es de torpes ofrecer lo que se desecha"; el dicho va de Horacio al *Lazarillo* de 1554. El pobre Lázaro se casa con la mujer que su amo y cura ha despreciado, "*y todo va de esta manera* [. . .]," la literatura es una mala traducción de la vida misma; por esto los humanos creemos en los dichos, cultos o populares, en las máximas que ayudan a vivir.[1]

El comentario del mote y el concepto gráfico (iconografía y emblema) de los lemas y sentencias de los clásicos formaron y enriquecieron, con la ayuda de la imprenta, la cultura europea renacentista. La emblemática antigua se dio cuenta de los varios significados que encierran los famosos "aurea dicta." Otto Venio, al comentar los emblemas de Horacio en 1607,[2] se atreve a sugerir con sus grabados el doblete semántico que encierran parte de sus dibujos; en un emblema que recuerda el desastre de la Armada española, no puede dejar de criticar, como contrapunto, lo mal que se come y el hambre que pasa Inglaterra, a quien recrimina su pésimo comportamiento por el daño causado al imperio de los Austrias. Venio, amigo del duque de Parma, su mecenas (por lo menos desde 1603), y de España, tiene que comentar esta situación crítica de la política europea y prepara los motes de las páginas 42 y 43 con dibujos que aluden a la "empanada" inglesa (con el grabado de un pastel; *empanada* por *hambre*), a la pesada labor del pirata Draque y al fracaso español.[3] Estos emblemas eran parte de la educación de príncipes, además de una estrategia (manera de aludir, eludir y criticar) y ello suponía una malísima propaganda para Inglaterra;[4] los ingleses, por tanto, silenciaron como pudieron en Europa los conocidos y ricos libros cortesanos de Venio hasta que, sesenta años después, un discípulo de Saavedra Fajardo publica en Amberes (Foppens 1669) otra vez los emblemas/poemas de Venio/Horacio, pero sin mencionar aquel enfrentamiento pasado y reelaborando el contenido político de manera diversa. Esto indica

la versatilidad de la imprenta del momento, el alcance cultural y vario de la emblemática y los gustos polisémicos que este género de comunicación puede plantear. De forma similar Venio comentó otros temas del agrado de la vida renacentista (de la filosofía del amor surgía la polisemia de la imagen de Venus, etc., etc.). La imprenta, desde 1530 (en especial desde la *Emblemata* de Alciati), jugó un papel fundamental en la proyección audiovisual de la literatura y de difusión de la alta cultura de las lenguas vernáculas. Los dibujos y grabados evocaban la ampliación textual y dimensionaban su significado. Así lo ha entendido Cervantes en su contacto con los libros; lo que no puede hacer es, tenga la imprenta los recursos que tenga, una novela con emblemas (el caso del *Polifilo* de F. Colonia—1799—parece excepción); pero lo que sí puede es sugerir al lector que la historia que cuenta en su primer *Quijote* (1605) se lea, a partir del capítulo 9, en dos dimensiones; no solamente gráfica y textual, sino como invención y como historia verdadera a la vez. Esta nueva manera de desdoblar la "verosimilitud" textual y de presentar la escritura suponía otra novísima manera de leer ficción en aquel momento; esto es, por una parte, leer desde el punto de vista que ha fijado la *Historia*, la madre de los hechos, de la tradición y de la verdad. Por otra, presentar la realidad textual y la verdad literaria al posible nuevo lector como puro entretenimiento y como sustitución de la vieja y repetida argumentación del mundo de caballeros o pícaros.

El desconocido andamio cervantino pedía "otro" lector, lectores, para la ficción. Siempre Cervantes creyó que había más de un lector, creía en la variedad de éste y en que puede y debe elegir lectura; en otras palabras, se trataba en 1600 de lo que Américo Castro comentaba en 1951 (para el *Guzmán de Alfarache*) como la manera de contar la cosa [. . .] "*como viene a cuento a cada uno.*" Ya lo hemos dicho, el *Quijote* no se escribió para escritores (por esto varios le despreciaron—Lope de Vega y Gracián—o le interpretaron mal como Avellaneda), y se diría lo mismo de la anónima apertura del cuento *Lazarillo*; así nació, sin génesis, sin ser género puro, aquello que llamamos novela picaresca.[5]

Parece ser que los personajes renacentistas no nacieron referidos a la realidad misma, vivían de una identidad imaginada y repetían lo que su mote evocaba como nombre propio. Por esto, los personajes de la vieja narrativa son y están construidos solamente como los llama la literatura (entonces un arte dudoso y de poco prestigio) y

como los plantea la vida misma del texto y de la boca de las gentes; pero no tienen genealogía completa o, si la tienen, la han perdido y han adoptado los antecedentes y la aventura literaria de lo vivido textualmente (por esto el esfuerzo de Américo Castro al explicar que a los españoles se les había acabado "el estímulo vital" y que, mediado el siglo XVII, andaban ya perdidos en un "templo sin altar").[6] Estos grandes personajes literarios representan conceptos, síntesis de lo que entienden por obrar y estar viviendo como literatura y, en aquel momento, como el vocero de una propaganda falsamente imperial; pero como forma de pensar son abstractos, impredecibles y sorprendentemente llamativos por lo que imaginan de nuevo y nunca visto ni oído. Por esto todos consiguen lectores, escuchas y público, porque entretienen y gustan. No olvidemos que son las gentes las que nombran y distinguen a los personajes por lo que se dice de ellos, sus hechos y anécdotas, por los motes y nueva identidad que han conseguido como texto; no se les conoce por sus verdaderos nombres de familia (también difuminada en el caso del *Guzmán*). Sabemos que la palabra "Lázaro" no tiene significado fijo y para entenderla se argumentan varios contenidos. Uno es de aquel que no recibe ayuda, desamparado porque su "nacimiento fue dentro del río Tormes, por la cual causa tomé el sobrenombre";[7] por esto, dice el texto literario, "le llaman Lázaro" las gentes y así lo hace el ciego sin pensar en los nombres de su padre o madre (Pérez/González). De otra manera, el *Covarrubias* remite a la parábola del rico Epulón, al sustantivo "lazería" y al concepto "padecer trabajos." El *Autoridades* (1734, vol. IV) ya fija la idea de "pobre andrajoso" como mendigo del Evangelio y añade la acepción que ha tomado de la literatura: "muchacho que guía, astuto, taimado y redomado." En el caso de "Guzmán," no sabemos mucho más; su nombre sigue siendo difícil de localizar. El *Autoridades* sólo registra el uso moderno de ciertos nobles que sirven en la Armada, los llamados *cadetes*, aunque ya haya insinuado Covarrubias que es palabra de origen alemán y que pasa por término extranjero, como la familia de los Alfarache (¿apellido sureño o árabe?).

Lo de "Quijote" es más complicado todavía aunque Cervantes intente deformarlo por los aparejos, facha, vestido y lecturas acumuladas; o sea, que ha ido perdiendo la identidad directa de su posible persona real y propia, y que la identidad que tiene ahora es exclusiva del libro y proviene de la vida de los libros, de la propaganda cultural y de la rapidez con que los españoles están, como deformación,

viviendo su hegemonía social y política. Pero nadie conoce a estos personajes por sus nombres en los lugares donde han podido nacer o convivir; la gente sólo sabe sus apodos, sus aventuras y dichos, como pasa todavía hoy en aldeas españolas (y de otros países), en donde no se conoce a las personas por su nombre de pila, sino por el mote de sus antepasados o por las "señas" o folclore de la familia. Esto explica el hecho de que "Don Quijote" ha perdido su identidad; las gentes que lo nombran así es por haber pasado a ser libro y ser parte de una secta libresca como era la épica caballera. Lo de Quesada, Quijana, etc., es otra identidad diferente que no se refería a algo o alguien dentro del libro y que ha perdido su significado porque no tiene registro literario. A este tipo de hombre, de edad avanzada, posible víctima, que no le importa ni entiende el mundo real, Cesare Ripa le caracteriza intelectualmente hablando (en la *Iconología* de 1603) como "una persona que desprecia las cosas de este mundo"; más o menos un "perdedor," un santo varón en éxtasis con una física y presencia iconográfica de alguna manera definidas.

El *Quijote* (mejor dicho, don Quijote como personaje) desde que apareció en 1605, dejó grabado, en la memoria de las gentes que leyeron o escucharon de él, un tipo de figura física que luego ha ido unido a su propio texto durante 400 años; por esto su figura sigue siendo tan universal como su texto y continúan mezclándose la imagen de Cervantes, desconocida, con la inventada de don Quijote. Hablamos de "lo quijotesco" como figura y acción de la locura y el disparate, pero al margen sigue vivo otro significado textual mucho más positivo; lo verdaderamente "quijotesco" es más complicado, lo importante es que don Quijote es un loco bueno, activo, que llega a las gentes, que no daña, que representa una moral perdida y un mundo cultural trastornado. Es importante notar que, todavía, en 1605 (como antes anunciaba Lázaro) no había libro malo. Iconográficamente hablando, de esta manera don Quijote sería el personaje literario de más identidad figurativa de la literatura mundial, y sería además la contradicción y la paradoja de su autor (no sabemos quién es realmente Cervantes, ni conocemos su físico). Y es que, parece ser (aparte de Lope de Vega y pocos más), la escritura no precisaba fijar en 1600 la importancia de sus autores. Aunque el caso de Cervantes por cuidar que la originalidad de su creación sea agresiva, la vida de éste y de su personaje parecen gobernadas por los hechos que acontecen en torno (como parte de esa "circunstancia" que comentó Ortega y

Gasset en 1914); sin embargo, todos pertenecían a un programa de novedades y aventuras propias de un montaje imperial que parece no tener bien ancladas sus posibilidades y reclamar cierto tipo de triunfo con inseguridades.

Cervantes toma, así, posición como crítico de su tiempo y, si no se mete con la Iglesia, podrá comentar la deformidad y fatuidad que presenta la vida española, cosa que no pasa de ser un triste retablo y un doloroso capricho. Por lo mismo nuestro autor se dedica más a enseñar a leer (y a escuchar) a los españoles que a darles ideas e ideología. La novela entretiene por la distancia de su discurso y porque es capaz de enfrentarse a modas y competir en la manera de propagarse y hacerse un lugar en la narrativa del momento, algo muy importante para un hombre inteligente y sin fortuna ni amigos.

A Cervantes no le gusta la "otra" literatura de oficio, ni del dictado de Lope de Vega (la escritura que vive de poderes y de los gustos plebeyos o "señoritos," la creación dirigida, aparentemente útil y de propaganda del orden político o de la rutina cortesana). En 1615, ya ha conseguido que su escritura esté "en las lenguas de las gentes" (como oralidad), que se halle "impreso y en estampa," y que, al mismo tiempo, sea libro leído y visto y tenga alcance iconográfico (2ª p., cap. III; cito por V. Gaos, Gredos). Esta vieja intención recordamos que ya se había ensayado en el cap. 9 de la primera parte de 1605 cuando la novela "pudo no haber sido escrita" y fue "conocida de todos" porque, además, aparecían las figuras de sus personajes dibujadas y nombradas.

Según comprueba el propio narrador (Cervantes) con sus mismos ojos, la escritura que él escribe es la misma que compra en el Alcaná de Toledo, presentada ahora en forma de unos cartapacios árabes que serán traducidos por un morisco que por allí pasaba a cambio de un saco de pasas. Esta historia épica árabe lleva grabados e ilustraciones al texto. Es así que la historia que escribe Cervantes hasta el capítulo 8 se inserta en la iconografía de los personajes del hallado manuscrito musulmán. A partir de ese momento, nuestro autor encuentra resuelta la crisis con que había acabado, por semejanza, la historia castellana que él no podía continuar por falta de datos y documentos del mundo cristiano. Ahora su texto ha encontrado continuidad a través del dinamismo iconográfico que le ofrece la casualidad de otra cultura y fija de nuevo los nombres que llevan las figuras de sus afortunados personajes. No muchos críticos han puesto énfasis en tal

descubrimiento de las relaciones textuales con la iconografía (Seznec en 1948 ya habló de ello al relacionar arte y literatura; después lo han hecho varios),[8] pues, parecía una cinta más del autor; sin embargo, como explicó Vilar, es parte del complejo estético de composición y de un libro "que sobrepasa a sus altos modelos en cada tema de las artes de evasión".[9]

Desde *El pensamiento de Cervantes* de Américo Castro (1925), no parecía caprichosa la dedicatoria del *Quijote* al "desocupado lector"; desocupado y vario porque la novela se abría al "pueblo" y a todas las teorías del mundo renacentista: recordaba la dinámica clínica del mundo de Huarte San Juan (Farinelli e Iriarte), lo mayestático (H. Weinrch, Heidelberg, 1956), la cosmovisión isabelina (E. Tillyard, México, 1984) y los furores problemáticos del triste pensador Giordano Bruno. Aquí acomoda lo que decía C. Guillén al respecto, en el *Quijote* se dan cita todos los problemas y códigos de la cultura renacentista.[10] La moralidad de la escritura cervantina va dirigida a todos porque no nace del favor y del poder; su obra es la del hombre pobre, culto y sereno que nada debe y que no usa de sus semejantes. Por esto el libro es parte de su familia y pertenece a una genética especial de escritor; es su "hijo" y es solamente "suyo," con todos sus límites y defectos, pero que no está presente para las malas artes de los imitadores.[11] Los estados de pasión, locura o estupidez son también parte fundamental de la condición humana y en la concepción del mundo hay que contar con ello y su punto de vista. Lo que hace Cervantes es presentar su entretenimiento al mundo y ofrecer sus caricias y niveles lingüísticos a través de este vario retablo renacentista. Lo recuerda L. Valla en el dicho renacentista "natura è bella per troppo vareare"; el libro/hijo se convierte en el libro/padrastro que tantos han comentado, visitando el autor la imprenta/cuna donde nació su hijo y visitando el sanatorio de las invenciones donde acabó como padrastro.

Cervantes, después de su poco figurar en el mundo de las letras españolas, abandonó su esterilidad cuando menos se lo esperaba la armada camarilla (la bien organizada banda) de Lope y los suyos; nadie imitaría un hijo avellanado, un producto viejo o casi un feto lleno de locuras y seco de ideas. Detrás se encondían pocos amigos, el librero Francisco de Robles y el enigmático editor Juan de la Cuesta.[12]

Seguía teniendo una manera muy especial de pensar en los libros el autor del *Quijote* y fue capaz de ofrecer lo que otros libros no

podían. Parecía que creaba contraliteratura y extravagancia, pero daba libertad a la lectura, creaba historia de la cosa común y se acomodaba fácilmente al ocio de los desocupados; se alimentaba de la vieja tradición que envolvía a los libros de aventuras y novedades dentro del mundo prismático de los pareceres y sentires a los que se refería don Américo Castro ya hace años. Cervantes usaba la imprenta para fijar su memoria literaria; por lo mismo, el autor y la historia contada pierden la memoria al final del capítulo octavo, y de tal manera, se recupera la escritura que la memoria paradójicamente vuelve a aparecer en el suelo del Alcaná de Toledo, como en un rompecabezas y como un emblema popular sepultado en el olvido o en otra vieja jerga. La memoria es el tema oculto y dinámico del *Quijote*, es lo que genera el cambio y la fuerza, la novedad y frescura del texto.

Cervantes no quería que la gente leyera y escuchara ficción (literatura) como las gentes lo hacían al uso; por esto, le dolió muchísimo la desleal competencia de Avellaneda y Lope de Vega; es por esto que no se puede silenciar la envidia generada como imitación y gesto durante siglos hasta Unamuno o Borges; Cervantes ya había inventado la escritura repetida y odiada, el libro no escrito; él era Menard y el sueño de su propia escritura; así Cervantes dejó sin contenidos la variedad del mundo lopesco, entonces un atrevimiento grave y peligroso. Manuel de Faria y Sousa (un poeta portugués asentado en Madrid), conocido vocero del ingenio cervantino, ya se dio cuenta de que, después de las "fábulas soñadas" por el soldado de Lepanto, cambiaron los gustos de los lectores y comentaba que los libros de caballeros "ya no son tan leídos."[13] Por esto creemos que Cervantes gozó enormemente cuando se vio inmerso en el mundo literario de la Corte española, la experiencia de pertenecer de lleno a la escritura y de presentar su hijo querido.

Todo esto, en 1605 y rodeado de tanta zozobra, le tuvo que dejar perplejo y feliz; como dice V. Lloréns, este triunfo estaba calculado, las explicaciones y motivaciones que expone el escritor son "inesperadamente claras y explícitas".[14] Pero para ello, al mismo tiempo, era necesario distanciarse de aquella cortesana batalla de las letras entre Toledo, Valladolid y Madrid, y crear un terreno propio que demostrara el aborrecimiento al género que desplazaba (a lo que se refería Faría y Sousa) con una fuerza nueva y con una crítica que se colocaba, por lo menos, a la altura del *Guzmán*.[15] A esto hay que añadir la competencia popular y la desconocida comunicación y afable entretenimiento que ofrecía el libro. Lo escrito era una cosa,

pero todos se preguntaron (sobre todo los que se tenían por escitores) cómo estaba compuesto y si se podía imitar y seguir, coyuntura esta de donde nacen los conflictos que todavía nadie ha resuelto. Cervantes no se dirigía a los escritores, su libro nacía de una plástica, de una visión previa a la escritura, del puro culto al libro y a la lectura.

De este lugar pasamos a cómo había visto Cervantes, previamente, a sus personajes desde los poderes de la imprenta (grabado, emblemática, etc.). La idea visual de la narrativa cervantina era única, como lo han notado varios tratadistas; la imaginación de novelar visualmente y la habilidad de mezclar escritura y plástica no era, pues, común. El conjunto de la novela vista y dibujada era algo nuevo, aunque ya haya datos parecidos y hermosos en el *Lazarillo*. Por esto, repetimos, la crisis de la escritura se crea cuando Cervantes se encuentra en la encrucijada y para la escritura en el cap. 9 de la 1ª parte. No puede seguir la narrativa al uso; sería repetir lo conocido. No, hay que preparar al lector a una nueva lectura del mismo texto; hay que imitar la novela dentro de la novela, la escritura dentro de la misma escritura; los personajes tienen que tener doble dimensión; hay que imitar por reestructuración lo ya escrito y darle un nuevo significado histórico; lo que era novela tradicional y folclórica (los 8 primeros capítulos de ficticia invención), hay que convertirlo en verdad, en historia, en documento vivo; y hay que invertirlos, pero sin variar la idea básica de la escritura y la dirección del texto.[16]

Es necesario incorporar un lenguaje iconográfico en los personajes; la narrativa tiene que apoyarse en el dibujo, en una nueva conciencia plástica de la escritura sin dejar de ser lo que era. El "Don Quijote" de los ocho capítulos primeros precisa de representación gráfica, así la novela que vuelve a abrirse y repetirse en la "segunda parte" de 1605 (a partir del cap. 9); lo mismo se hará con los demás personajes principales, ya que todos tienen que ir acompañados de figura y texto. El nuevo prisma y la síntesis del dibujo darán una nueva lectura, por esto se desdobla el autor del texto (Cervantes/Benengeli) y el lector (ficción/historia). De esta manera aparece un "segundo autor" y "otro lector" con un punto de vista diferente del que Lope de Vega y sus amigos, por pura extravagancia, podían imaginar. Sin embargo, para Cervantes, nada ha cambiado, la novela corre y vive por semejanza e íntima imitación, sin salirse de lo propuesto. El texto repetido es idéntico, pero partido en dos partes y nombrando lo mismo de dos maneras por reflexión. La pretendida y falsa crisis no es cervantina,

era necesario narrar desde un punto de vista alternativo; la crisis, si la había, era del lector que tenía que leer la misma cosa desde otro ángulo y tener en cuenta las posibilidades y variedad técnica de la escritura que aportaba la anécdota de la cultura iconográfica. Por esto, Cervantes "no halló más escrito destas hazañas" de los primeros capítulos y en "este punto la deja pendiente el autor." Así aparece lo visual y lo narrado juntos como pasado (los ocho capítulos primeros), presente (lo que deja pendiente el autor primero con las espadas en alza de don Quijote y el vizcaíno) y futuro (la doble escritura—pero la misma—que presenta el segundo autor Cide Hamete como narrativa dibujada, sin salirse del marco de la vieja "fingida historia"). Esto fue realmente el descubrimiento de la nueva novela del futuro, de lo que se ha llamado novela moderna; no era otra cosa que montar y desmontar en arte la misma historia contada entre ficción e historia "verdadera" (?).

En el Alcaná de Toledo es cuando el autor real y el narrador ficticio se unen y se hacen protagonistas de la novela que se está formando. Históricamente, pudo tener Cervantes visión de ello a finales de agosto del año 1604 cuando el autor se entera de que no gusta su escritura a Lope de Vega; parece ser que es por esto por lo que aparece comprando su texto, su misma escritura para dos tipos de lectores.

La rotura de sistema es que este texto va dibujado, pertenece a otra lengua, cultura y tradición (no la que controla el envidioso Lope), pero sin salirse de los mismos límites geográficos de la jerga dominante. Cervantes juega aquí con la perspectiva de la realidad y con el concepto de "verdad" histórica y de la política literaria que está en juego. El resultado de estas causas y efectos del *Quijote* no iban a quedar aquí; Lope de Vega prepara la venganza que su amigo, el falso de Avellaneda, sacará adelante en 1614. De 1604 a 1614, el libro de Cervantes es criticado y puesto en la picota por muchos escritores (hasta Gracián), y leído por miles de lectores; táchanle unos de "comedia" y oportunismo literario; otros, de "entretenimiento" y gozo.[17]

El nuevo desdoblamiento se supera al contar que hay libros novelescos e historias de caballeros "que cada uno de ellos tenía uno o dos sabios, como de molde, que no solamente escribían sus libros, sino que pintaban sus más mínimos pensamientos y niñerías, por más escondidas que fuesen." Sencillamente, creemos que el autor se refiere a la imprenta y a la impresión de libros con ilustraciones, en donde más de una mano, o dos sabios, han escrito "no solamente sus hechos sino que pintaban" otra intención con sus figuras.[18] No cabe

duda de que a Cervantes le hubiera gustado que su libro saliera a la luz, fijado con grabados en "donde más de una mano" esculpiera la historia de su héroe de la misma manera que habían aparecido los hechos narrados del *Orlando furioso*, Floriseles o Esplandianaes, etc., por no volver a repetir lo de *El sueño de Polifilo*.[19]

El capítulo nueve ofrecía un complicado juego estructural. La verdad del pasado, lo histórico, debía reforzarse con dibujos para dar a la escritura presencia y "hallar así lo que de ella faltaba," esto es, la truncada historia de don Quijote.[20] Por esto pensamos en la latente imagen visual que Cervantes tiene de su texto y de las figuras de sus personajes, y por lo mismo parece ser "cosa imposible y fuera de toda buena costumbre que a tan buen caballero le hubiese faltado algún sabio (que pintara) sus nunca vistas hazañas, cosa que no faltó a ninguno de los caballeros andantes" porque sin tal supuesta iconografía evocada "hubiese quedado manca y estropeada..." la tal historia; así a Cervantes "se le representó" el propio libro "estando yo un día en el Alcaná de Toledo" y de manera semejante deja lo contado (la batalla "pintada muy al natural" con las armas en alza del vizcaíno, fin del cap. octavo) para retomarlo, como imagen visual, "puesto en la misma postura que la historia cuenta y con las espadas levantadas" (del cap. noveno).

A continuación pasa Cervantes a contar lo que representa el manuscrito árabe hallado y transcribe lo escrito al pie de los dibujos: el *vizcaíno* es un tal "Don Sancho de Azpeitia"; después Rocinante y don Quijote bailándose los nombres, en donde el pretendido caballo "estaba tan maravillosamente pintado, tan largo y tendido [. . .]"; mientras Sancho intenta ajustarse a su nuevo nombre, tan libresco, de "Sancho Zancas," tan confuso para los críticos. Así se acercaba Cervantes al lector, de nueva manera, apoyándose en la evocación de la imprenta y en la visión de los grabados de sus figuras, algo que duraría siglos en la grande historia de los *Quijotes* ilustrados. Este juego con la especial memoria gráfica ya lo había usado Cervantes antes y lo va a usar después; pensamos en el entremés del *Retablo de las maravillas* o en los capítulos del "Retablo de Maese Pedro" (retablos de fuerte cargazón iconográfica, sobre todo hasta la dinámica de la ópera de M. de Falla, 1919). En otro momento, en el prólogo a las *Novelas ejemplares*, competirá con el conocido retrato grabado de los trabajos de imprenta de Mateo Alemán, pero ahora Cervantes, desde otra ladera y más viejo, se degrada con su propia descripción:

"este que veis aquí, de rostro aguileño, de cabello castaño, frente lisa, etc., etc...," lo cual no es otra cosa que una presencia personal en el arte de la imagen y de la literatura juntos.[21]

Intencionadamente, el *Quijote* se aparta de la repetición que hace popular la novela de caballerías. Recordemos que el primer prólogo de 1605 resultó más difícil escribirlo que la propia novela y que, en 1613, en el prólogo a las *Novelas*, se tiene que decir y recordar que en el prólogo de 1605 "le fue mal" y que ni pudo ni dijo lo que el autor quería decir, ni supo explicar cómo había escrito el libro del *Quijote*, historia que ni estaba en los planes críticos ni en la idea de precepto o escritura que imaginaba Aristóteles. Todo indica que escribir es, para Cervantes, paradójico y que la escritura no se puede enseñar ni describir con claridad y lógica; la creación es creación y es algo personal que pertenece a la intimidad e individualidad del arte de la comunicación. Así lo pretende aclarar Lope de Vega a los dos nobles ricos que, en el poema del "Arte nuevo," intentan aprender hacer teatro a través de unas lecciones y por poco dinero. Cervantes y Lope, cada uno a su manera, respetaban sus inventos y alejaban a las gentes de la imitación y de la simple preceptiva.[22] Pues, lo individual del arte no se puede enseñar, aunque uno se sienta "padrastro" de la creación "más discreta que pudiera imaginarse." Los preceptos de la segunda parte de 1615 iban en contra de Avellaneda, quien con descaro, se había atrevido a igualar "otra" escritura e invención. Todo esto le causaba a Cervantes distancia, suspensión y perplejidad en cuanto a lo literario del mundo madrileño; nuestro autor seguía su dictado de que lo que cuenta es el lector, su subjetividad y su manera de leer.

Lo que buscaba nuestro autor poco tenía que ver con los gustos anteriores; se abría una nueva puerta a la imitación y al orden de la lectura. Por esto, Ortega y Gasset (1914) ha dicho del *Quijote* que siempre está pendiente "que le nazca un nieto capaz de entenderle," pero ya los románticos se habían empeñado en algo imposible y todavía más paradójico cuando se buscaba que los personajes de las obras (o del *Quijote*) debían ser "reales," de carne y hueso, para que la historia los fijara vital y físicamente como prototipos humanos de estirpe española o "x" (¿de genética nacionalista?),[23] y después, todo el psicologismo rancio que desde Huarte San Juan, Salillas y el "freudismo," han intentado atribuir "realidad" a lo propiamente creativo.

Hoy, a través de lo iconográfico, también necesitamos buscar una física a la escritura cervantina. Son modas que pide el campo

asociativo del arte, cada día es más amplio el espectro de interpretación y análisis. Repetimos que, cuando escribe Cervantes, pensamos en la distancia estructural que plantea el capítulo 9 de 1605 y la gracia (el chiste) de la imitación pictórica que sugiere el gallo del pintor Orbaneja; es el tira y afloja del humor literario.

Los modelos cervantinos del capítulo grabado tienen que proceder de las polianteas, de la literatura dibujada de la época y de los gustos intelectuales (lo ideal y lo conceptual unidos), del perfeccionamiento del último brote del renacimiento europeo, más los *Esopos* ilustrados. Sabemos que Cervantes conoció bien el mundo refinado de la más fresca cultura italiana, que participaba del mundo platónico, que era un hombre que lo leía todo y que eran "regalo de su alma" aquellos trescientos libros que manejaba ávidamente su amigo don Quijote.[24] Sabido es que cuando escribe Cervantes "pinta" con la lengua lo que "ve" con la plástica de la imaginación. Él fue el primero que "vio" y dio de comer, ayudado por dos prostitutas, a su personaje (a través de un embudo y entre el enrejado de su casco), para que el alucinado caballero cumpliera con sus deseos y necesidades que dicta "la realidad literaria." Cervantes "ha visto" y escrito la historia antes que el lector la leyera, la física antecede a la escritura y a la lectura. Por esto, el autor demuestra con frecuencia que hay intención iconográfica cuando trabaja porque la mayor parte de sus descripciones y situaciones literarias evocan y se convierten en un mundo pictórico que la tradición ha ido fijando de varias maneras durante cuatrocientos años.

Al principio del siglo XVII, la *Iconología* de Cesare Ripa se había hecho un libro de consulta imprescindible para todos aquellos que participaban de los varios hechos estéticos y culturales. El mundo simbólico y las teorías sobre el dibujo y el imaginismo estaban evolucionando tanto como los géneros literarios, entonces en manos de los españoles y de su propaganda política. El libro de Ripa, después de varias ediciones y traducciones, interviene en la narrativa cervantina. Parecía ser que este diccionario de temas y representación era una síntesis del pasado e imprescindible herramienta moderna de cultura. Aquí se presentaban todos los sustantivos significativos de la manera de pensar en las artes; el mundo simbólico e intelectual del manierismo del siglo XVII partía de esta interpretación de la realidad cultural del hombre producto del renacimiento. Era una prolongación más práctica y más moderna (algo alejada del latinismo decadente que se avecinaba) de lo que había sido la *Emblemata* de Alciato y el mundo

de los "aurea dicta" clásicos y tradicionales.[25] Esto es lo que plantea ya, en 1929, V. Sklovski: "Cervantes había utilizado los diccionarios enciclopédicos de su época", según el mismo autor del *Quijote*, como su *alter ego* y amigo comentan cuando acotan sentencias y citas de autores antiguos: "desde la A hasta la Z, como vos decís."[26]

Recordemos otra vez el grabado de la *Iconología* de C. Ripa (Roma, 1603), en donde hay un personaje, de evocación quijotesca, en donde tenemos comentado el tema del desprecio de las cosas de este mundo: un viejo soldado y caballero (posible alusión al discurso de las armas y de las leyes—letras—), de talle alto y de edad avanzada, pisa la corona del poder y desprecia la vara de mando porque no pretende las cosas que otros persiguen, ni su triunfo parece ser el de este mundo. No cabe duda que la descripción que hace Ripa del lema "dispregio del mundo" se refiere a un alto principio renacentista, al ideal de la verdadera búsqueda de libertad y del viejo tema del "Beatus ille." Por lo mismo, podemos decir que el personaje representado "tien la testa volta vers'il cielo, perche tal dispregio nasce da pensieri e stimoli santi, e dirizzati in Dio solo." No olvidemos que todo es parte del mundo espiritual cervantino, del pensamiento básico del cristianismo, de un "perdedor" de las cosas de este mundo,[27] del escritor que siempre buscó la libertad como "uno de los más preciosos dones" porque "con ella no pueden igualarse los tesoros que encierra la tierra, ni el mar," sin contar otros textos que recuerdan a Alciato como "los oficios y grandes cargos no son otra cosa sino golfo profundo de confusiones" (cap. XLII de la 2ª parte), de la misma manera que Venus pisaba la emblemática rueda de Fortuna, y Cervantes parafraseaba el dibujo con que "vendría a ser feos pies de rueda de tu locura" invocando el ideal de la humildad. Pero, recordemos, la clave del discurso iconográfico estaba en la suspensión del "gallardo vizcaíno" del capítulo noveno de 1605, y de cómo su inacabada aventura, si "no estuviese escrita, estaría en la memoria de las gentes." Así se conjuga la pintura y la memoria con la narrativa. El grabado vizcaíno "tenía a los pies escrito [. . .] un título [. . .]," y a los pies de *Rocinante* otro que decía por semejanza: "**Don Quijote**," sorpresa para el lector porque, como en el citado pintor Orbaneja, todo se iguala, caballo/caballero.

Así los personajes de la novela todos presentan las mismas características en el texto, pero el problema radica en el paratexto de las glosas al margen, en donde los sustantivos cambian y se modifica su figura y papel como en un espejo quebrado; ahora el "guloso" de

Sancho Panza aparece como Sancho Zancas y Dulcinea perderá la magia y será la Aldonza Lorenzo que "sala puercos." Por la evocación de los grabados ha cambiado el texto y ha desaparecido la crisis de la escritura; la novela se vuelve del revés y se desdobla y contradice la genética de los personajes; este otro juego de Cervantes de proyectar, desde un nuevo punto de vista, el perspectivismo lingüístico de la "realidad narrada" y la dibujada tuvo que entretener a los lectores. El autor se copia a sí mismo y nombra los títulos de los modelos y prototipos según los ha visto imaginados y figurados. Ahora aparece Sancho zancudo, que "traía del cabestro a su asno"(para C. Ripa símbolo de la "indocilidad"), con un rótulo enigmático que decía: "Sancho Zancas, y debía de ser... que tenía, a lo que mostraba la pintura, la barriga grande, el talle corto y las zancas largas," esto es, barriga y zancas (zapatos?) de más tamaño del necesario, aunque a la "gula" siempre se la representó con cuello muy largo y alto, además del par de palominos en las manos. Ningún humor había en la afirmación de que el *Quijote* iba a "entallarse en bronces, esculpirse en mármoles y pintarse en tablas para memoria en lo futuro" (cap. II, 1605).

ICONOGRAFÍA

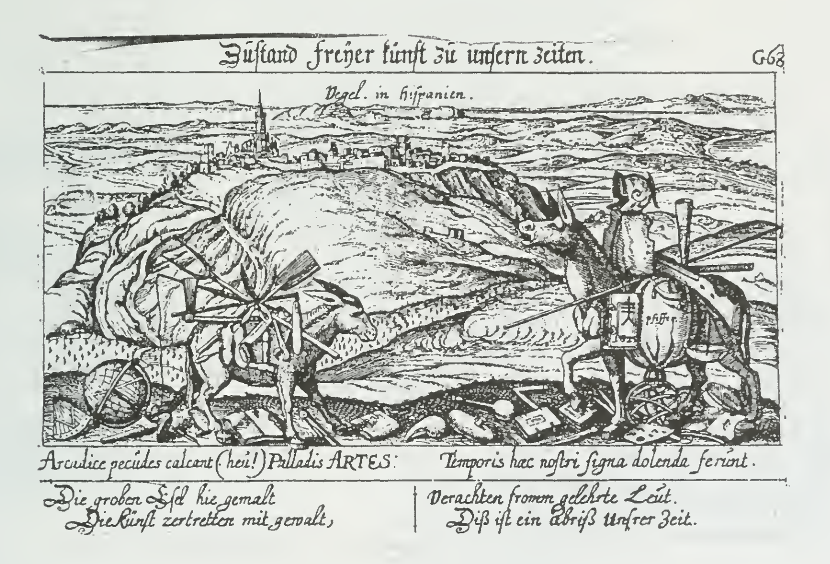
A





B

Las dos ediciones de la traducción de Alciato (Lyon, 1549)



La guía alemana de 1638 (*Emblematicus cicitatum*, Nurenberg)



EMBLEMA XC.
Gula.



Curculione gruis tumidâ vir pingitur alvo,
Qui Laron , aut manibus gestat Onocrotalum.
Talis forma fuit Dionysi , & talis Apici,
Et gula quos celebres deliciosa facit.

Representaciones de la gula en la emblemática antigua

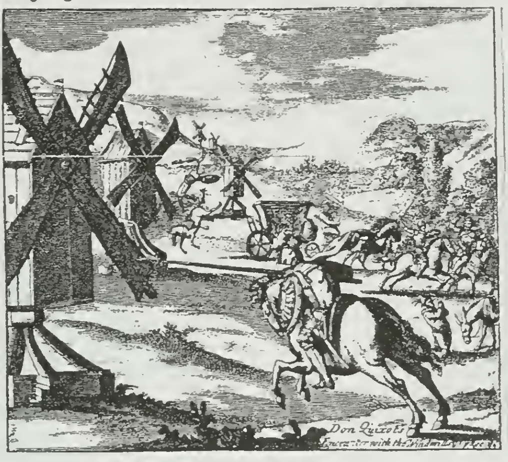
Di Cesare Ripa.
DOMINIO DI SE STESSO.

DI CESARE RIPA.
DISPREGIO DEL MONDO

Espanto

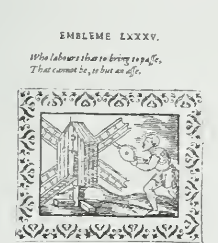
El desprecio de las cosas de este mundo (C. Ripa, 1603)

El grabado que ofrecemos a continuación procede de una edición inglesa, de 1687, en donde Sancho, vestido de Arlequín, reza los peligrosos juegos de su amo:



Otros grabados de las emblemáticas alusivos a pasajes del *Quijote*







Los molinillos de viento como juego de los "simples" (los niños) y locura de los locos

EL INGENIOSO
HIDALGO DON QVI-
XOTE DE LA MANCHA,
Compueſto por Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra.
DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEIAR,
Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcaçar, y Bañares, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y Burguillos.



CON PRIVILEGIO.
EN MADRID Por Iuan de la Cueſta.
Vendeſe en caſa de Franciſco de Robles, librero del Rey nro ſeñor

The Pleaſant Hiſtory of the MILLER
of MANSFIELD
in *Sherwood*, and *HENRY* the ſecond
KING of ENGLAND.
Shewing how the King was lodged in the Millers Houſe, and the mirth and Sports he had there.



Printed for J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T Paſſinger.

Otros emblemas relacionados

APPROBATIO CENSORIS.

Emblemata hæc, ex Horatio Flacco, Lyricorum & Satyricorum principe, ingenioſè ſimul & doctè, ab Othone Venio ſelecta, ac eiuſdem ſtudio & ære, Tabulis Notiſque illuſtrata, digna iudico, quæ ad tanti Poëtæ gratam memoriam renouandam, operumque eiuſdem vberiorem explanationem percipiendam, prælo commiſſa, diuulgentur. Datum Antuerpiæ. XV. Kal. Martij. M. DC. VII.

Laurentius Beyerlinck Antuerp. S. Theolog. Licent. librorumq; cenſor.

PRIVILEGIIS, *Pontificio, Cæſareo, Regum Hiſpaniæ & Galliæ, & Principum Belgij, cautum eſt, ne quis hæc Emblemata, aut alia eiuſdem, auctoris opera imitetur.*

Typis Dauidis Martinij.

APPROBATIO CENSORIS.

Emblemata hæc, ex Horatio Flacco, Lyricorum & Satyricorum principe, ingenioſè ſimul & doctè, ab Othone Venio ſelecta, ac eiuſdem ſtudio & ære, Tabulis Notiſque illuſtrata, digna iudico, quæ ad tanti Poëtæ gratam memoriam renouandam, operumque eiuſdem vberiorem explanationem percipiendam, prælo commiſſa, diuulgentur. Datum Antuerpiæ. XV. Kal. Martij. M. DC. VII.

Laurentius Beyerlinck Antuerp. S. Theolog. Licent. librorumq; cenſor.

PRIVILEGIIS, *Pontificio, Cæſareo, Regum Hiſpaniæ & Galliæ, Principum Belgij, & Ordinum Confæderatarum Prouinciarum cautum eſt, ne quis hæc Emblemata, aut alia eiuſdem auctoris opera imitetur, aut venalia exponat, niſi pœnam decem Marcarum auri, & confiſcationis librorum, tam imitator, quàm venditor, velint incurrere.*

Typis Dauidis Martinij.

Las dos aprobaciones de la *Emblemata* de Horacio y O. Vennio Amberes, 1607

Notas

1. El sentimiento moral renacentista cambia en el barroco. El tópico de Horacio se ha invertido en Calderón de la Barca; en *La vida es sueño* un sabio recoge lo que otro tira; la desgracia de Segismundo no la quiere para sí Rosaura.

2. *Emblemata ex Horatio Flacco*, Amberes, 1608; se imprimió dos veces en el mismo año, con diferente aprobación y privilegio de 1607 (en los pliegos finales del impreso), en la tipografía de David Martín. Las bibliografías especializadas sólo registran una impresión.

3. La obra de Otto Venio y Horacio se tradujo a varias lenguas por aquel entonces, pero no al inglés. Verdussen, en Amberes, vuelve a editar la obra en 1723, pero ya se han retocado las críticas a Inglaterra, a Draque (saqueo de la ciudad de Faro en 1595) y el recuerdo de la batalla de Gelves.

4. Pero Mejía y otros educadores de la época instruyen a través de emblemas; lo mismo intenta otro educador de los Austrias que llamaban en Italia el "Spagnolo" y que trabajaba en España por 1579.

5. De aquí surge la disputa del término "autobiografía" que como palabra en el diccionario no tiene vida hasta el siglo XIX, pero que, como género de escritura, es totalmente español desde la ascética del siglo XVI (*Vida* de Santa Teresa) hasta las aventuras de los marginados del Imperio; las dos formas de narrar fueron literatura de propaganda, mundos personales llenos de prodigios y cosas nunca vistas ni oídas antes. Todos los personajes de la picaresca son seres sin educación que han sacado sus vidas adelante de manera sorprendente, y amparados en un ilusorio realismo que sabe sensibilizar al lector o escucha folclórico. Se siguieron escribiendo "Vidas" y "Memorias," pero en el siglo XVIII inglés, se rehizo este sentimentalismo literario (el tamaño del "yo" falsamente autobiográfico) y lo practicaron poetas como Ann Cromartie Yearsley (1786) o varios novelistas como práctica de propaganda de las novedades del mundo anglosajón. Para el helenismo "autobiográfico" (no aparece en los repertorios de anglicismos), hay que pensar que se pudo adoptar a través de la emigración de Blanco White y de los liberales a tierras inglesas. Es G. Misch (*A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1950), quien distingue el mundo creativo de Apuleyo del de las *Confesiones* de San Agustín como dos maneras clásicas de propaganda y escritura autobiográfica.

6. Así plantea la búsqueda del "Don" (en la "Pila de los dones") y de la personalidad de los españoles (en *El diablo cojuelo*, L. Vélez de Guevara, 1641) A. Castro (prólogo al libro de S. Gilman, *Cervantes y Avellaneda*, México, Colegio de México, 1951, pág. 7).

7. Según el *Metaphysical Bible Dictionary* (1931, pero Lee's Summit, Mo., 1966, p. 397) Lázaro es el "without help", o "apparently utterly neglected by the man himself".

8. Hace muchos años F. Maldonado de Guevara habló de la influencia de la emblemática en Cervantes ("El dolor como potencia estética", *Anales cervantinos*, n. 1, CSIC, Madrid, 1951). Manuel Durán, repasando a Ortega y Gasset, comenta algo en "El *Quijote* y sus ilustradores" (*Diálogos*, Colegio de México, 1988, vol. 2,5). E. C. Riley (**Introducción al** ***Quijote***, Barcelona, 1990, págs. 59 y 160) no olvida el tema y dice: "los antecedentes emblemático-populares [. . .] pueden haber contribuido poco o nada a las sutilezas de la caracterización novelesca, pero explican [. . .] su poderoso atractivo visual"; recordando a Joly, Redondo y a Márquez Villanueva, enseña un grabado del s. XVI "que representa a Arlequín como un caballero andante, con una cazuela de yelmo y montado sobre un asno esquelético" (*La commedia dell' Arte* de G. Oreglia, Londres, 1968); también cita el pasaje de los molinetes, estudiado por Márquez Villanueva ("La locura emblemática en la 2ª P. del *Quijote*", en *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, Juan de la Cuesta, 1980) y los juegos de los niños, tema que enlaza con la tradición de Cebes y los "Teatro morales" hasta el s. XVIII. Otras posiciones en H. Percas de Ponseti (*Cervantes y su concepto del arte,* Madrid,1975, y *Cervantes, the Writer and Painter of D. Q.*, Columbia, 1988), P. L. Ullman ("An emblematic interpretation [. . .]," *Estudios* [. . .] *a H. Hatzfeld*, Barcelona, 1974) y tantos otros (Avalle Arce para *La española inglesa*, J. Gallego, *Visión y símbolos de la pintura española*, Madrid, 1984); o *Critical Images* (The Canonization of D. Q. through Illustrated Editions), R. Schmidt (Québec, 1999).

9. "El tiempo del *Quijote*", en *Crecimiento y desarrollo*, Barcelona, 1964 p. 448, en donde añade que se trata de "una obra maestra que fija en imágenes el contraste tragicómico [. . .]."

10. "Taxonomías" (Entre *lo uno y lo diverso*, Barcelona, 1985, pág. 134, y *El primer siglo de Oro*, Barcelona, 1988).

11. Mucho se ha hablado y comentado sobre el *libro/hijo* de Cervantes, pero la paradójica preceptiva que plantea desde el prólogo de 1605 nos dicta que no se puede jugar con la escritura de Cervantes porque para los padres no hay hijo feo.

12. Es posible que algo se esconda detrás del dormido león en la marca de librero Juan de la Cuesta. Como fuere, Percas de Ponseti (libros citados en la nota 8) ha concluido que "to this aim, Cervantes devised an emblematic language of his own."

13. Comentario al canto IV de *Os Lusiadas*, Camoens, Madrid, 1639,

pág. 138. Sobre la memoria y la emblemática del asno ver los libros de Francis A. Yates (sobre todo *Giordano Bruno y la tradición hermética*, Barcelona, 1983, págs. 299 y subsiguientes).

14. "La intención del *Quijote*" (*Literatura, historia y política*, Madrid, 1986). Sobre lo mismo ayuda lo dicho por S. Gilman ("Los inquisidores literarios de Cervantes", *Actas del 3er Congreso AIH*, México, 1970).

15. En el artículo citado en la nota anterior, Gilman recordaba a Américo Castro: el *Quijote* es "un continuo acto de creación crítica y de crítica creadora. En él la ficción se fabrica en el mismo proceso de atacar y de destruir la ficción" o que "el latir fundamental del inmenso organismo llamado el Q. consiste en una diástole libresca y una sístole vital". Parece que todo esto lo hemos oído muchas veces y que suena a algo clásico y por tanto conocido; pero no, son textos siempre vivos al hablar de Cervantes, aunque las novedades de aquí y de allá prefieran otro lenguaje.

16. Sobre esto ya hemos hablado en nuestro artículo "La crisis de la escritura: sentido y forma del cap. 9 del Q. de 1605" (*Homenaje a A. Redondo*, Madrid, Castalia, 2004). Antes han planteado el problema estructural varios críticos: "Sobre el plan primitivo del Q." (G. Stagg, *Actas 1er. Congreso IAH*, Oxford, 1964), C. Rodríguez Chicharro "C. Hamete Benengueli" (*Estructura y vida. Ensayos cervantinos*, UNAM, México, 1977); Ruth El Saffar "Don Q. and the Persiles" (*Estudios dedicados a Hatzfeld*, Barcelona, 1974) y *Distance and Control in Don Quijote* (North Carolina, 1975) o E.C. Riley en *Teoría de la novela en Cervantes* (Madrid, Taurus, 1966). La lista es mayor.

17. El fingimiento y la comicidad cervantina hicieron rápido efecto. Ya en 1610, Guillén de Castro compone una comedia titulada "Don Quijote de la Mancha", y un vecino de Madrid, Francisco de Ávila, no mucho después, el entremés "De los invencibles hechos de Don Quijote de la Mancha" (ed., F. Pérez y González, Madrid, 1905), aparte de otras representaciones gráficas que pudo conocer Cervantes. Esta puesta en escena de las hazañas de los personajes cervantinos indica que "el quijotismo", inmediatamente, consiguió figura.

18. Es paradójico que Sancho pida a Don Quijote "consejos por escrito" cuando aquél no sabe leer; Sancho confía en que la memoria verbal coincida con lo dicho o dibujado.

19. No podemos olvidar el simbolismo que acompañaba a todos estos libros y el papel que jugaba la emblemática y "su lectura" en la poesía del Siglo de Oro (José Pascual Buxó, *Las figuraciones del sentido*, FCE, México, 1984). Por otra parte, recordemos el simbolismo que acompañaba

a los retratos de la época; J.Ma. Micó ha comentado el retrato de Mateo Alemán ("El texto de la 1ª. P. del *Guzmán de Alfarache*", *Hispanic Review*, 1989) "tan cargado de símbolos" (el escudo, el amargo emblema, el libro de Tácito). García Mahiques ha comentado el halcón encapirotado en la marca del impresor J. de la Cuesta a propósito del emblema XXXVII de Nuñez de Cepeda (*Empresas sacras*, Madrid, 1988, pág. 144) y ha ilustrado G. Tervarent (en el juego semántico del "costo" de la Cuesta, Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane /1450-1600/. *Dictionaire d'un language perdu*, Ginebra, 1959, col. 163).

20. Parece ser que Cervantes conoció y gustaba de las ediciones ilustradas de las obras del Ariosto. También pudo tener acceso al comentario emblemático de J. Ruscelli (1603), o a la famosa edición veneciana de Girolano Porro para la imprenta de F. Franceschini (1584), editor de *Le imprese illustri* (Ruscelli). Según M. Chevalier (*L'Arioste en Espagne*, Bordeaux, 1966), todos estaban relacionados con las embajadas españolas en Italia, en donde se competía a alto nivel en la confección de libros con grabados en cobre (*figure di rame*); y M. Durán ("Cervantes y Ariosto", *Estudios. . .*, H. a H. Hatzfeld, Barcelona, 1974).

21. Ya lo anunció E. Lafuente Ferrari con "la desconsolada conclusión: no conocemos por vía fidedigna la apariencia física de Cervantes" (*La novela ejemplar de los retratos de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1948, pág. 148). Por otra parte Raimundo Lida ha comentado ("El vértigo en el *Quijote*", *Asomante*, 1962) la lectura icónica que se desprende del desplazamiento troquelado del texto base de la escritura, algo que también Francisco Rico ha querido aplicar a la narrativa lazarilla (*Problemas del "Lazarillo"*, Madrid, 1988, pág. 32).

22. Sobre lo preceptivo de los prólogos cervantinos, la crítica no puede ser más numerosa; desde Américo Castro, Avalle Arce o V. Gaos hasta Rivers y Porqueras Mayo, etc. Un trabajo de conjunto el de Martínez Torrejón (*Anales cervantinos*, Madrid, 1985). Otro estudio de M. Socrate de 1974 o lo dicho por G. E. McSpadden en 1979, por no nombrar a más.

23. Léanse los comentarios de M. Durán ("El *Quijote* a través del prisma de Bakhtin", *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, Easton, 1980, pág. 71) y F. Márquez Villanueva ("La génesis literaria de S. Panza", *Fuentes literarias cervantinas*, Madrid, 1973, págs. 20-1).

24. Estamos muy lejos de pensar en la "andaluzada" que sugería F. Rodríguez Marín para comentar estas cantidades librescas. Tampoco seguimos el comentario de V. Gaos cuando habla de los "cien cuerpos de libros grandes" que forman el mundo de los libros de caballerías. Cervantes no quería que la literatura se leyera desde el punto de vista "folclórico" que

piden estos libros. Ver la lista de libros en D. Eisenberg, "La biblioteca de Cervantes" (*Studia in honorem a M. de Riquer*, Barcelona, 1988).

25. La traducción de Alciato al castellano era de 1549 (Lyon, Francia, a cargo del humanista Bernardino Daza Pinciano, con dos impresiones diferentes). Para el prestigio de Alciato en España, A. Sánchez Pérez (*La literatura emblemática española*, Madrid, 1977, pág. 64). La ficha 2044 del *Catálogo* de Salvá (Valencia, 1872) ya anuncia dos ediciones españolas de 1549.

26. Sklovski "Cómo está escrito el *Quijote*" (*La cuerda del arco*, Barcelona, 1975, pág. 13).

27. Hace años R. Menéndez Pidal hablaba de "la mística religiosa del Quijote verdadero", cosa que, de tal manera dispuesta, no la tiene ningún otro libro. J. Ortega y Gasset y otros pensadores lo han apoyado.

Las ínsulas extrañas de Emilio Adolfo Westphalen: distancia crítica frente a la velocidad en la modernidad literaria[1]

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La modernidad ocupa un lugar estratégico en el desarrollo de la historia hispanoamericana debido al hecho de ubicarse en un momento de cambio y reorganización de estructuras sociales, artísticas, políticas y mentales que coinciden con la entrada del siglo XX. La gran expansión de ciudades como Buenos Aires, México y Lima llevó a una progresiva mecanización de la vida y la presión del trabajo creó una particular visión de las cosas. El espacio de la ciudad empezó a absorber a sus habitantes dentro de su esquema de alienación. Como consecuencia de esto, el ser humano se hace cada vez más consciente de la fugacidad del tiempo, experimentando lo vertiginoso de las relaciones interpersonales. Dentro de este escenario nace una reacción artística y literaria que intenta representar el orden cambiante de los nuevos tiempos. El objetivo de estas páginas es ubicar la génesis de la poesía de Emilio Adolfo Westphalen (Lima 1911–2001) como respuesta a esta corriente inédita de acontecimientos. La obra de este poeta peruano participa plenamente, en términos estéticos, del factor moderno; sin que esto signifique una asimilación integral a su dinámica sino que, más bien, se encuentra en un diálogo de convivencia y rechazo de la misma. Dentro de esta perspectiva, nos detendremos en su tratamiento especial del tema del tiempo, enfatizando su punto de vista frente a la rapidez temporal predicada por las escuelas de vanguardia, concretamente el futurismo. Asimismo, el desarrollo textual de los poemas nos llevará a constatar el hecho de que los procesos acelerados de la modernidad tienen como correlato la desintegración del sujeto lírico y su consecuente aislamiento y muerte. Ante lo inevitable, Westphalen construye una poética sobre la base de mecanismos de defensa que tienen al erotismo como su principal componente para edificar la utopía redentora frente a lo fragmentario y la nada.

La evolución de las discusiones en torno a la modernidad señala a Charles Baudelaire como un escritor visionario, quien marca un hito fundacional en el desarrollo del pensamiento contemporáneo ya que, por medio de su poesía y sus ensayos críticos, perfila las características del espíritu nuevo. Y lo interesante de sus meditaciones es el descubrimiento del hecho de que la modernidad tiende a lo transitorio, al flujo constante y sin freno, como lo manifiesta en su ensayo "The painter of modern life" (1863): "Modernity is the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art, of which the other half is the eternal and the immutable. As for this transitory, fleeting element whose metamorphoses are so frequent, you have no right either to scorn it or to ignore it" (150). Es necesario retener esta cita ya que es esta doble polaridad del arte la que está en discusión. Por un lado, lo inmutable del pasado y la tradición y por otra parte, lo fugaz, lo movible, lo cambiante del espíritu que se canaliza en la nueva estética. Los escritores modernos rehuyen al pasado y hacen de éste un campo a destruir. Toda referencia a un tiempo anterior es vista con desdén y como síntoma de un estancamiento en la inmovilidad y la esterilidad. En esta línea discursiva, la asociación de la modernidad con la idea de flujo y discurrir continuo se ilustra de manera magistral en el penetrante libro de Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid modernity*. Para este analista del fenómeno moderno, el patrón de la modernidad es el movimiento y lo que fluye. Así, asistimos a un estado de cosas caracterizado por el cambio rápido y sin detenimiento de todos los procesos que involucran al ser humano. En estos tiempos ya no se puede consolidar espacios sólidos o cerrados que funcionen como estructuras fijas en sí mismas. Todo está sujeto al cambio y la metamorfosis. Hemos pasado de la época del "hardware" al dominio del "software," es decir a lo que se volatiliza apenas después de construido. Dentro del escenario de la modernidad líquida ("liquid modernity") predomina el cambio y la dispersión de los espacios solidificados, haciendo que la transformación opere al interior de ellos mismos como si se tratara de su razón de ser. Este mecanismo produce una perspectiva diferente en todos los niveles del entorno humano; ya sean los vínculos entre espacio y tiempo, individuo y sociedad o las mismas relaciones entre sujetos en términos de formación de la personalidad. En una palabra, nadie puede pasar por alto los profundos cambios que el advenimiento de la era líquida ha producido en la condición humana. El estado acuático se asocia comúnmente con la idea del tiempo como categoría

que se desplaza en forma de fluido. De la misma manera, la velocidad se convierte en el eje de esta dinámica. Acá es importante notar el papel que la tecnología juega en la época moderna colocando a la idea misma de desplazamiento en el centro del fenómeno. El desarrollo progresivo de medios de transporte cada vez más sofisticados radicaliza significativamente la mirada del hombre hacia la realidad. Como sostiene Bauman:

> The very idea of speed (even more conspicuously, that of acceleration), when referring to the relationship between time and space, assumes its variability, and it would hardly have any meaning at all were not that relation truly changeable, were it an attribute of inhuman and pre-human reality rather than a matter of human inventiveness and resolve, and were it not reaching far beyond the narrow range of variations to which the natural tools of mobility—human or equine legs—used to confine the movements of premodern bodies. Once the distance passed in a unit of time came to be dependent on technology, on artificial means of transportation, all extant, inherited limits to the speed of movement could be in principle transgressed. (9)

Esta trasgresión de límites impuestos es lo que subyace en la ideología de la modernidad como un deseo de prolongar el espacio del cuerpo por medio del uso de máquinas producto del avance tecnológico. La velocidad se convierte de este modo en un sinónimo de lo moderno, como si se quisiera dejar lo más atrás posible el pasado y lo sólido. Más aún, como resultado de este proceso, la identidad misma se ve sometida al flujo y la imposibilidad de asir lo concreto. Desde un punto de vista externo, la identidad individual parece fija y sólida, con una frontera que demarca su territorio. Sin embargo, al participar de la mecánica general de lo líquido, el recinto identitario se pierde y deforma diluyéndose en la corriente acuosa del cambio. Bauman sintetiza esta dinámica con palabras certeras: "The search for identity is the ongoing struggle to arrest or slow down the flow, to solidify the fluid, to give form to the formless. We struggle to deny or at least to cover up the awesome fluidity just below the thin wrapping of the form; we try to avert our eyes from sights which they cannot pierce or take in" (83). El resultado de este proceso es la figura del yo fragmentado,

disperso, sin centro de la modernidad. En la poesía de Westphalen contemplamos este yo, así como una lucha continua por integrarse en una imagen más coherente de sí mismo. Debemos puntualizar que la tesis de Bauman, aunque en principio tiene el objetivo de caracterizar un escenario propio de la época contemporánea en el siglo XXI, puede perfectamente aplicarse al esquema global de la modernidad en tanto la transitoriedad, como elemento clave, está presente desde las palabras seminales de Baudelaire. Westphalen expresa su insatisfacción ante este estado de cosas. De esta manera, sus textos funcionan en un doble nivel argumentativo ya que, en primer lugar, manifiestan desasosiego ante la rapidez de la vida moderna—denominador común tanto de la modernidad "sólida," como de la "líquida"—; mientras que, en segundo plano, anticipan la radical mecánica existencial expuesta por Bauman bajo el dominio de lo líquido.

A la luz de las exposiciones previas podemos señalar que la aparición de *Las ínsulas extrañas* (Lima 1933) marcó un hito más que significativo en el proceso poético peruano e hispanoamericano. Para aproximarnos adecuadamente a estos poemas es necesario determinar de qué manera dialogan con el contexto moderno dentro del cual fueron producidos. En las páginas anteriores vimos que la característica determinante del llamado espíritu nuevo era la actitud de ser partícipe de un fenómeno inédito en la historia de la humanidad. Como contraparte, el rol del artista moderno consistió en una toma de conciencia acerca de su función con respecto a lo novedoso. La mirada prospectiva hacia el futuro fue la tónica de la prédica dominante en los escritos poéticos y programáticos de los principales escritores durante las primeras décadas del siglo XX. A este respecto Marinetti, líder del movimiento futurista, asumió esta idea de manera radical y no cedió nada ante los espíritus que no se adhiriesen a sus presupuestos. Así, el 20 de febrero de 1909, *Le figaro* de París publica su "Manifiesto futurista" donde, aparte de su famosa apología de la guerra, la violencia y la tecnología, se exalta la velocidad como categoría que resume los ideales del arte nuevo. Marinetti es enfático al oponer la inmovilidad del pasado frente a la agresividad y rapidez de los tiempos modernos. La consigna es sepultar, de una vez por todas, cualquier vestigio que remita a un tiempo signado por la lentitud: "Up to now literature has exalted a pensive immobility, ecstasy, and sleep. We intend to exalt aggresive action, a feverish insomnia, the racer's stride, the mortal leap, the punch and the slap" (41). Los ataques

violentos, el descrédito a la pasividad, a la que opone la lucha, son los patrones sobre los que se erige el espíritu futurista. En su artículo "The new religion-morality of speed," no concibe la mínima tregua para aquellos que aún se solazan en lo lento: "One must persecute, lash, torture all those who sin against speed" (95). Es más, todo lo que no esté incluido dentro del esquema de la rapidez es satanizado, como se ejemplifica en esta ecuación de conceptos:

> Speed= synthesis of every courage in action. Aggressive and warlike.
> Slowness= analysis of every stagnant prudence. Passive and pacifistic.
> Speed= scorn of obstacles, desire for the new and unexplored. Modernity, hygiene.
> Slowness= arrest, ecstasy, immobile adoration of obstacles, nostalgia for the already seen, idealization of exhaustion and rest, pessimism about the unexplored. Rancid romanticism of the wild, wandering poet and long-haired bespectacled dirty philosopher. (95–6)

La pertinencia de estas afirmaciones es capital para la poesía de Westphalen ya que este poeta tomó muy en cuenta las propuestas estéticas de los principales movimientos de vanguardia al momento de producir sus obras. Particularmente, el caso del futurismo es relevante porque en los poemas de *Las ínsulas extrañas* se puede postular una dinámica entre la rapidez y la lentitud, que opera como marco compositivo estructural. El eje vector de este vínculo de términos opuestos es el tiempo, que funciona como elemento sometido a un proceso crítico desde la voz del discurso poético. El futurismo desprestigió el pasado y buscó su anulación, y para esto se sirvió de la velocidad y el maquinismo como aliados de su empresa. La máquina es el arma para la conquista del tiempo y el espacio, para la edificación de una sociedad sin límites impuestos por la lentitud y la creencia en lo tradicional. El mundo se ve envuelto en una atmósfera de rapidez y cambio constante, al interior de la cual la consolidación de objetos permanentes es vista como signo de una mentalidad que se busca sepultar en el pasado. Westphalen participa de este estado de cosas al punto que su prédica poética se instala en el centro del asunto y reacciona ante el mismo desde su propia visión. Así, *Las ínsulas extrañas* es un

texto cuestionador de algunos rasgos esenciales propugnados por la modernidad, básicamente en cuanto al tema de la velocidad como eje de la condición humana. En nuestra opinión, el esquema de fondo del libro puede traducirse en un enfrentamiento entre las categorías de lo rápido y lo lento, en un proceso de choque entre las mismas que lleva a la búsqueda utópica personal de un tiempo que obedezca a las leyes internas del yo poético, antes que a una mecánica externamente impuesta por el curso de la historia. A este respecto, el tiempo se convierte en el tema en torno al cual gira la mayor parte de los nueve poemas que conforman el poemario.

Para ilustrar este punto nos detendremos en el texto pórtico de la colección, "Andando el tiempo" que, de manera significativa, posiciona el curso del libro entero, y presenta la ideología del autor con relación a la modernidad. El título sirve como perfecta síntesis que adelanta y abre nuestra expectativa acerca de lo que encontraremos en el poema. Y es importante que resaltemos el uso del verbo "andar" en el doble sentido de "caminar" y "pasar" (pasar el tiempo). Es decir que estamos frente a un movimiento del sujeto en el tiempo, y al impacto que el trascurso del mismo ocasiona en el primero. En una palabra, el sujeto existe en y a través de lo temporal, y esta relación simbiótica se traduce en experiencia poemática. Es más, enfatizamos el hecho de que el nexo entre el yo lírico y el tiempo se manifiesta en el doble plano del cuerpo y la conciencia del hablante. El hombre no puede abstraerse del flujo de la historia, ya que está determinado a existir y ser en el tiempo, y esta existencia produce un desgaste de los órganos corporales y lleva a la indeterminación de la personalidad:

> Andando el tiempo
> Los pies crecen y maduran
> Andando el tiempo
> Los hombres se miran en los espejos
> Y no se ven (1–5)

Para Westphalen, uno de los efectos de la modernidad radica en el hecho de que la identidad se ve sometida a un proceso inestable, difuso, de difícil concreción. En este sentido, el sujeto poético presenta un punto de quiebre con la preceptiva moderna de la velocidad, que se traduce en una cadena progresiva de eventos que remiten directamente al ciclo de vida y muerte del individuo. Y lo hace valiéndose

de los mecanismos propios del discurso moderno, especialmente en lo relativo a la aceleración. Pero, al incluir el tropiezo ("cojear," quizás producto de una caída) como posibilidad de la vida rápida, introduce un elemento añadido que siembra la semilla de la desconfianza y preludia el espíritu crítico que esgrimirá en el posterior desarrollo de la acción:

Andando el tiempo
Zapatos de cabritilla
Corriendo el tiempo
Zapatos de atleta
Cojeando el tiempo
Con errar de cada instante y no regresar (6–11)

La secuencia andar/correr/cojear/errar/no regresar sintetiza la totalidad de la experiencia humana percibida a través del prisma temporal. Y alcanza un punto revelador en el verso: "Es el tiempo y no tiene tiempo" (15), en el cual el autor afirma la paradoja de este elemento tan pertinente al hombre pero que, por otro lado, es indiferente a su propia mecánica de desgaste y degeneración. Inmediatamente se dice: "No tengo tiempo" (16), para resaltar, a partir de esta irrupción de la primera persona, el hecho de que en el nivel del lenguaje cotidiano utilizamos esa expresión comúnmente, sin detenernos a pensar en el sentido profundo de la misma. Y esta es una de las paradojas que constatan el carácter insólito del lenguaje, ya que por medio de este código cultural podemos expresar condiciones de ser completamente alejadas, y en conflicto con lo que sucede realmente. A grandes rasgos, percibimos cuatro momentos en el poema, al interior de los cuales se presentan segmentos precisos que pueden relacionarse con otros fragmentos de secciones posteriores o anteriores. Y esta sería la particularidad, en términos de construcción textual, del poemario. Es decir versos agrupados en unidades semánticas que remiten a otras y van creando el sentido por mecanismos de asociación o choque. Dentro de estas unidades podemos percibir conflicto, a menudo al interior de una misma frase que no se resuelve debido al carácter problemático de las palabras. Así, al interior de la frase westphaleana se lleva a cabo un proceso de colisión que abre posibilidades expresivas inéditas: "Por aquí a la aventura silencio cerrado / Por allá a la descompuesta inmóvil móvil" (19–20). Y estos son los dos elementos puestos en juego en el

proceso dialéctico del libro: la movilidad y la inmovilidad. O, más precisamente, la respuesta a la velocidad desde una perspectiva que privilegia la lentitud y el reposo. La coexistencia de opuestos en un mismo verso o unidad sintáctica también se refleja en "Solía mirar el carrillón...": "Solía mirar el carrillón que llega con toda ave / Así estaba más muerta" (1–2). Y en "La mañana alza el río...": "Existía no existía" (8). Las expresiones antagónicas condicionan el proceso poético al ser el motor que le otorga su característica fundamental. En cuanto a la división de "Andando el tiempo..." en cuatro secuencias, la primera instancia (1–16) se refiere, entonces, a lo ya mencionado en sentido de la valoración del papel del tiempo en la vivencia humana. En segundo lugar (17–47), se presenta un desarrollo de lo predicado inicialmente para enfatizar el desgaste y los efectos del transcurrir temporal, principalmente en el cuerpo del hablante. Así, como desde el inicio, los pies se presentan como los órganos que encarnan el nexo entre el cuerpo y el tiempo. A este respecto, esta última categoría sigue ejerciendo su dominio, a pesar de su imperfecto tránsito. Esto se visualiza en la reducción de los zapatos a simplemente huesos: "Los zapatos / Osamentas de pescado" (34–5); lo cual confirma la idea de que el discurrir temporal es un fenómeno doloroso, padecido al mismo nivel por el cuerpo y la conciencia del ser humano, al enfatizarse la imagen de los pies heridos en su andar. Al definir al tiempo como "flor" y "niño" (28–31); es decir, como elementos primigenios que padecen un proceso de envejecimiento, y en los cuales el contraste con sus respectivos estados de pérdida de lozanía y vejez son drásticos; el poeta afirma que ya nadie "muerde la nuca," "Si no las flores [el tiempo] / O los pies *llagados* / Andando y *sangre* de tiempo" (45–7; subrayado nuestro). Entonces, lo que se resalta en este punto es el dolor y padecimiento de la vivencia, encarnizada en marcas corporales visibles (las llagas) y, en una palabra, en el sufrimiento ante la inevitabilidad de su acción. El poema entra en una tercera fase (48–60) en la cual se percibe una aceleración del tiempo, que marca el comienzo de la inminente llegada de la muerte. Esto se visualiza en imágenes acuáticas que funcionalmente reproducen la rapidez del desplazamiento: "Gotas la lluvia el torrente" (48). Dentro de la mecánica del texto este verso simboliza un doble momento, ya que sintetiza, en primer lugar, todo lo mencionado antes, y por otro lado, establece un puente con lo que sigue. La secuencia acuática de gota/lluvia/torrente, esquematiza el movimiento progresivo del proceso acuático-temporal, y reproduce el contexto de la velocidad de la vida

impuesto por la modernidad. Consecuentemente, el evento principal de esta etapa es la llegada del yo poético a un punto concreto: el enfrentamiento con la muerte y la imposibilidad de revertir el proceso: "La mano llega / Este es su destino / Llegar el tiempo" (49–51). El sujeto arriba a un lugar impreciso, indefinible, y este desenlace es representado por medio de lo corporal que, de esta manera, sirve para recalcar la idea de que el paso del tiempo se encarna en el cuerpo ("el pie," "la mano"): "La mano a lo desierto / El pie a lo ignorado" (55–6). Es más, el desgaste corporal del yo lírico acelera el cambio de estado que va de la vida a lo mortuorio. Para centrar el asunto, debemos añadir que existen diversos elementos involucrados en este discurrir. Así, además del sujeto, el tiempo mismo también se inscribe en el movimiento progresivo, del mismo modo que el objeto de deseo hacia el cual la prédica poemática se dirige. En este punto es interesante notar que la construcción textual apoya la idea de unidades relacionadas entre sí a pesar de la distancia entre los versos. Nos referimos al hecho de que el texto genera una expectativa de la llegada y concreción del proceso. Así, podemos establecer una secuencia en la cual se desarrolla la idea del arribo del sujeto, y de los otros elementos referidos, hacia el fin: "Ya llega y tarda / Y se olvida" (21–2), "Adiós y no ha llegado" (26), "No te hagas tan silencio" (40), "La mano llega" (49). El hecho de andar el tiempo conduce a un llegar a la muerte. Y esta confluencia de acciones está signada por el erotismo. Cabe reforzar esta idea porque el plano de la sexualidad, afirmada desde este primer poema—que es una síntesis de los temas del poemario—, se convierte en el arma con el cual el sujeto luchará en contra de la finitud. Para concluir, vemos una cuarta parte en el texto, que funciona como respuesta frente a lo presentado en las primeras tres secciones:

Alzada levantada
Me doy a tu más leve giro
Al amor de las pestañas
A lo no dicho
Vértigo
Te temía sin noche y sin día
Aunque no regreses
Por la marcha de mis huesos a una otra noche
Por el silencio que se cae
O tu sexo (61–70)

Aquí irrumpe la presencia femenina que opera como contraparte al flujo impetuoso del tiempo y la inevitabilidad del término. Es sintomática la presencia vertical del objeto de deseo, como en un gesto de detener el avance incontenible de lo temporal. Además, la comunión con este ser, al cual se temía que no tuviera una esencia humana—que fuera atemporal—, se sirve de dos elementos más: el sueño ("las pestañas") y el silencio ("lo no dicho"), que serán relevantes en la simbología del libro. El encuentro sexual significa una entrega sin concesiones entre los amantes ("Me doy a tu más leve giro") en un escenario vertiginoso donde lo que se busca es disolver la marcha de lo inevitable. El poema completa el círculo que había trazado inicialmente, al componer un mosaico de imágenes que reproducen las sucesivas etapas de la existencia del ser humano atrapado en el tiempo, y que, andando y padeciendo un proceso que es más agudo y doloroso en el mundo moderno, se refugia en el erotismo y la figura de la amada para contrarrestar su efecto devastador.[2]

La dialéctica velocidad/lentitud posiciona la tónica del libro, y es a partir de estos dos ejes que se establece la experiencia del sujeto. Así, el dolor, el desgaste y lo irreversible está ligado al primer elemento, mientras que las referencias al amor y la búsqueda por poseer al objeto de deseo participan del segundo polo de la dicotomía. Sin embargo, se percibe un conflicto, en términos de movimiento, que se traduce en la problemática del yo poético por acceder a un espacio utópico que se desprende de este estado de cosas. En "Solía mirar el carrillón...," se postula el choque de las realidades de la vida y la muerte. Presenciamos, así, la imagen de una niña muerta que propicia el regeneramiento de la naturaleza por medio de su presencia. El yo lírico encuentra a la imagen femenina en un paisaje del alba, donde reina la inmovilidad: "Te encontraba blanca sin huesos / No me traigas esta desesperanza / Del camino a *la lenta*" (5–7; énfasis nuestro). El sentido se suspende, pero atestiguamos la referencia a lo lento a través del estado de latencia de la niña que, a pesar de estar muerta, es capaz de propiciar un movimiento interno que se reproduce en el ambiente exterior. Este escenario no está exonerado de la presencia del tiempo, que se concreta en el elemento acuático: "En el valle los ríos el sol que estrena levita" (26). Sin embargo, creemos que, en el fondo, el poema intenta enfatizar la presencia del amor aún en un contexto signado por la muerte. Es más, en la ausencia de movimiento, en el reposo es posible el (re)nacimiento, la vuelta a la vida: "La noche es *más lenta*

[. . .] / El amor nunca llega sino ahora" (35–9; subrayado nuestro). La lentitud propicia una pausa al paso irrefrenable del tiempo. Instaurar un tiempo lento, un curso de cosas más acorde con la perspectiva del sujeto es el objetivo del trabajo poético de Westphalen. La referencia al "ahora" en el último verso del fragmento citado es sintomática porque es una salida frente al carácter prospectivo del tiempo moderno, que apunta exclusivamente al futuro. De esta manera, la meditación poética se centra en la necesidad por instalar un esquema alterno, que responda de manera eficaz a las necesidades particulares del sujeto. La utopía temporal de *Las ínsulas extrañas* radica en la búsqueda del reverso de la experiencia moderna. Así, en contra de una mentalidad que gira en torno a mecanismos de velocidad, se impone una poética que intuye como respuesta la desaceleración, la vivencia del amor en lo estático. En consecuencia, como ya fue apuntado, el encuentro con el objeto de deseo por medio del erotismo es la manera más adecuada para revertir el proceso de la rapidez y exclusión del reposo por la modernidad.

Por otro lado, en los poemas se advierte una estructura dialógica que opera como el desgarrado intento de comunicación entablado por el yo poético hacia el objeto amoroso, pero que en la mayor parte de los casos termina en un improductivo soliloquio. Como resultado de este intento de diálogo se produce un fraccionamiento del hablante. Es decir que la falta de plenitud y contacto con el tú escinde al sujeto y lo confina en su insularidad, en su aislamiento que trata de superar. En efecto, es posible rastrear no una, sino varias voces que se superponen y van configurando un tramado textual que frecuentemente desemboca en el silencio ante la imposibilidad de la comunicación. Sería más adecuado decir que presenciamos el surgimiento de un yo fragmentado que se expresa en primera persona, pero que también se oculta bajo una tercera o bajo formas impersonales. Esto se comprueba en el inicio de "La mañana alza el río...": "Despertar sin vértebras sin estructura / La piel está en su eternidad" (5–6), que alude a una pérdida de cohesión del yo, producida en primera instancia por la ausencia del ser amado. Esta falta de estabilidad se traduce en la oposición dialéctica "Existía no existía" (8), lo que nos lleva a percibir una indeterminación total con respecto al sujeto, y a constatar la imposibilidad de establecer una idea cierta sobre su condición. Sintomáticamente, este poema también enfoca la temática que venimos exponiendo de la velocidad frente a la lentitud. Así, la

aparición del amor se produce en la ausencia de movimiento opuesta al flujo temporal simbolizado en la imagen acuática de la lluvia: "Las olas dicen amor / La niebla otra vez otra barca / Los remos el amor no se mueve" (17–9). La ausencia de movimiento no hace sino resaltar la esperanza en la utopía de la anulación del tiempo y su efecto corrosivo: "Calma tardanza el cielo" (24). En términos comunicativos, el intento de diálogo lleva a extremos desesperados e infructuosos como producto de la antitética ubicación del yo y el tú. Así, el objeto amado reside, por lo general, en el recinto de la memoria, mientras que el yo lírico habita el tiempo histórico progresivo. Fragmentos de la totalidad se aparecen ante el sujeto como recuerdo de un pasado en que, si no poseyó plenamente al objeto, al menos lo contempló. De esta manera, el ámbito de la memoria se convierte en el lugar apropiado para el objetivo dialógico. Esto se ilustra especialmente en "Una cabeza humana viene...." En este sentido, desde sus primeros versos el poema establece una posición discrepante con el fluir del tiempo e intenta poner en práctica el mecanismo retrospectivo del recuerdo:

Una cabeza humana viene *lenta* desde el olvido
Tenso se *detiene* el aire
Vienen *lentas* sus miradas
Un lirio trae la noche a cuestas (1–4; énfasis nuestro)

Pero, a la vez que la remembranza trae por un instante la imagen del deseo, lleva también a la frustración. Y es que la memoria no puede nunca actualizar la presencia concreta. El proceso de reconocimiento del objeto en la conciencia del sujeto produce desasosiego. Y por esto, "El lirio [la amada] es alto de antigua angustia" (10), ya que el tú es codificado como entidad antitética que no sólo reproduce características plenas, sino que también es capaz de crear estados pertenecientes al ámbito del dolor. Lo que queremos decir es que el sujeto no mantiene idealizada a la amada en el cielo platónico: "Eres alta de varias angustias / Casi llega al amor tu brazo extendido" (16–7). Esta doble codificación del objeto produce el carácter complejo de esta poesía y la hace moverse por terrenos opuestos. El mecanismo del recuerdo funciona, aparentemente, de manera opuesta al flujo prospectivo del tiempo. Por medio de la memoria se crea la ilusión de frenar el curso de la aceleración temporal:

Me he hecho recuerdo de hombre para oírte
Recuerdo de muchos hombres
Presencia de fuego para oírte
Detenida la carrera
Atravesados los cuerpos y disminuidos
Pero estás en la gloria de la eterna noche (26–31; subrayado nuestro)

Sin embargo, el poema alcanza un punto dramático en el cual, tanto la comunión con la amada en el nivel de la realidad, así como su ilusoria posesión en el recuerdo son nulos. Y es que, al recordar, seguimos el patrón del tiempo con su consecuente fracaso de actualizar la presencia del objeto amoroso. Y esto se produce porque los efectos de la mecanización se filtran en la memoria: "Cuento la noche / Esta vez tus labios se iban con la música / Otra vez la música olvidó los labios" (36–8). Es decir que para que el recuerdo sea eficaz es preciso seguir una secuencia lineal de eventos para regresar al punto que se quiere rescatar. Pero esta labor, por equivalencia, es una reproducción del movimiento progresivo de la modernidad. Al final, tanto la posesión corporal del objeto de deseo, así como su posible recuperación por la memoria son un fracaso:

Ya no encuentro tu recuerdo
Otra noche sube por tu silencio
Nada para los ojos
Nada para las manos
Nada para el dolor
Nada para el amor (45–50)

Asimismo, el "contar" retrotrae a la acción del agua en el poema "Un árbol se eleva hasta el extremo...": "Las gotas cuentan otra cosa / Nadie cuenta las gotas" (32–3). Aquí, el universo representado se ve sometido a una persistente caída de gotas que van creciendo hasta inundar todo el espacio y ser agentes devastadores. La imagen de las gotas que se cuentan se agudiza hasta proponer la simbiosis entre lo acuático y lo temporal: "Las gotas / [. . .] Llora el agua / El tiempo se cuenta con las gotas el tiempo" (40–3). Este poema es emblemático en cuanto al tema del discurso moderno y el aspecto líquido del mismo. El yo poético se encuentra sometido a un continuo caer de gotas que

poco a poco crecen hasta amenazar por completo el entorno vital. Y propician la pérdida de la interioridad—"Ya no tengo alma" (52)—al proponer la imagen del sujeto indefenso, absorbido irremediablemente por la acción del agua/tiempo/modernidad:

> Ya no cabe el agua en el alma en el cielo en el canto en el agua
> Otra alma
> Y nada de alma
> Hojas gotas ramas almas
> Agua agua agua agua
> Matado por el agua (73–8)

Estos dos poemas se encuentran entre los más desesperanzados de la colección, conjuntamente con "Hojas secas para tapar...," ya que en éstos el sujeto sucumbe ante el poder inevitable del agua. En este último texto estamos en un escenario otoñal en el que prevalece un clima de muerte—"bueyes asesinados," "plumas muertas," "muerte de los cisnes"—que se contrasta con la afirmación "El otoño no quiere morir" (38), es decir que es agente pero está inmune a la muerte. El objetivo del sujeto en el texto es buscar una salida frente a esta atmósfera mortuoria, esperanza que se frustra hacia el final por la acción del agua y su equivalente—la sangre—:

> Hay que pasar
> El agua llega a las barbillas
> Es más dulce
> Hay que pasar no olvides
> Cuánta sangre y no agua
> Cuánto olvido y no otoño
> La última elegía de las hojas muertas (60–6)

El pesimismo se visualiza en la escisión del sujeto que es producida por dos causas: la ausencia de la amada y la pérdida del vínculo primordial entre el hombre y la naturaleza. En el poema "La mañana alza el río...," se plantea una salida a esta situación por medio de la reorganización del cosmos a partir del fuego. El yo instaura una cosmogonía por la cual los elementos naturales confluyen en los ojos: "Fuego fuego fuego fuego / En el cielo cielo fuego cielo / Cómo rueda el silencio" (26–8). Escenificando un ritual que se inicia en la noche hacia una

abolición del caos: "El fuego nace en los ojos / El amor nace en los ojos el cielo el fuego / El fuego el amor el silencio" (35–7). Además, el nexo con la naturaleza es claramente definido en el poema "Un árbol se eleva hasta el extremo...," que se inicia con la prédica impersonal de la voz poética que alude a la figura de un árbol elevándose verticalmente hacia los cielos que lo albergan. El movimiento vertical recuerda al realizado por la amada en el primer poema, como un mecanismo de defensa frente al flujo horizontal del tiempo. Súbitamente aparece una estructura dialógica en los dísticos: "No hagas tal fuerza por que te oigan / Yo te cedo mis dedos mis ramas" (7–8), en los cuales el discurso se personaliza y el sujeto se metamorfosea en el elemento natural. Estos versos configuran la búsqueda del poema: el árbol es visto por el sujeto como entidad-puente, como imagen que restituye la conexión perdida con el cosmos. Un aspecto importante a tomar en cuenta es el doble papel representado por los elementos naturales al cumplir, alternativamente, las funciones de destrucción y regeneración. Así, las expresiones destructivas: "Muerto sin agua en el fuego" (26), "Matado por el fuego" (23), "Matado por el agua" (83); se contraponen a la función regenerativa de la armonía. Por eso, la devastación del paisaje por el fuego no es vista como término, sino como un "Maravilloso final" (25). Por otro lado, la escisión del sujeto tiene como correlato la fragmentariedad de la naturaleza. Esta fractura del yo lírico—presente en la voz y en las concepciones de ésta— es el principal obstáculo para lograr la plenitud. En un universo dividido por el curso del tiempo y la ausencia del objeto amado, el hablante pierde conciencia de su rol como sujeto completo. Como respuesta, intenta su reintegración en el camino de la memoria. Pero el resultado es precario y efímero. Y es que el recuerdo es un insuficiente sustituto de la presencia que se anhela. Entonces, estamos frente a una escritura de constantes tropiezos y vacilaciones, de muertes y renacimientos en la página que no puede, ni debe leerse bajo el cristal de un único punto de vista. Como el poeta español José Ángel Valente acertadamente señala: "Recurrente morir de las palabras en su mero principio, en su natural silencio, del que sin cesar renace. La palabra es en el poema de Westphalen una teoría de resurrecciones" (9).[3]

A modo de conclusión, podemos afirmar que en *Las ínsulas extrañas* prevalece, como tónica general, el desaliento y el pesimismo ante la imposibilidad de poseer al ser amado y superar el estado de aislamiento en que se encuentra el sujeto. La insularidad es un

estigma del cual no se puede escapar a pesar del esfuerzo desplegado para su anulación. Los mecanismos para entablar un diálogo con la amada son ineficientes, así como el hecho de recurrir a la memoria, que debería actualizar la presencia del objeto de deseo. Sin embargo, no hay patetismo al momento de expresar la soledad del hombre. No hay el más mínimo resquicio de sentimentalismo, ya que este estado solitario es el rasgo dominante de la condición humana contemporánea. En este sentido, Vicente Huidobro en su texto "El héroe," habla del estoicismo del hombre moderno cuando se ve rodeado por el silencio y la incomunicación: "El héroe tiene forzosamente que ser un solitario, tiene que sentir el voluptuoso dolor de ser isla, y mientras más rodeado se siente por los demás hombres, más solo se ve y más fácilmente mide las miles de leguas que lo separan de los otros espíritus" (225). La necesidad del aislamiento se concreta en los poemas de Westphalen ya que no hay asimilación al ritmo veloz de la vida moderna sino que, por el contrario, se lucha en contra de ella a riesgo de ser un marginado del sistema. Cada uno, a su manera, es una "ínsula extraña" apartada del curso vertiginoso de la historia, segregado del falso optimismo de la civilización. Ante esto, sólo se puede oponer la creencia en la posibilidad de instaurar un tiempo otro, una interacción más plena con los demás. De esta manera, de los nueve poemas que conforman *Las ínsulas extrañas*, los siete primeros retratan esta condición precaria, marginal. En los dos últimos vemos, por el contrario, la apertura hacia otra dimensión en la cual la irrupción y poder transformador del discurso amoroso es posible. Estos textos sirven como eslabón que propicia el tránsito entre el desasosiego del sujeto-isla, hacia el deslumbrante renacimiento en el reino del amor y el erotismo de *Abolición de la muerte*, su segundo poemario publicado en 1935. Así, el deseo redentor de Westphalen cumple su objetivo de mostrar que sólo por—y a través de—la sexualidad se puede combatir y (utópicamente), abolir la muerte y la desesperanza. En este contexto, el penúltimo poema de *Las ínsulas*, "Llueve por tanto...," ilustra la actualización de la presencia del ser amado, ya que no vemos el intento del recuerdo ni el llamado al diálogo, sino el nacimiento del tú: "Yo estaba por decir que aquí estabas / Nacías con una sonrisa" (6-7). Acá notamos que la estructura dialógica de este texto recrea el intento del yo lírico por acceder a la inmovilidad del objeto de deseo. Y este estado detenido tiene como correlato la presencia de un tiempo lento, alejado del fluido

estrepitoso del mundo moderno. Así, el ambiente natural en el cual se produce el encuentro con la amada participa de la lentitud requerida: "Adornados los campos con varios fraques de más / Silenciados los montes con varios silencios de más / Más abierto el cielo y *lenta* la tortuga" (42–4; énfasis nuestro). El problema del tiempo, el escepticismo ante el discurso victorioso de la modernidad y la tarea de buscar alternativas a su doctrina, siempre ha sido una constante en la obra, tanto poética como ensayística, de Westphalen. En este sentido, hablando precisamente de la capacidad de la poesía para frenar el transcurrir temporal, afirma de forma certera lo siguiente: "[Ese tiempo] que a veces algunos poemas–en su confección o en su lectura–nos hacen olvidar por entero. Por ellos queda suspendido el tiempo o tenemos la sensación de que ha quedado suspendido. Esta cualidad que de cuando en cuando tiene el poema podría señalarse como su mejor y mayor cualidad–sino como exclusiva" ("Pecios" 26). O como lo dice bellamente en el último poema de *Falsos rituales y otras patrañas* (1999):

> ALIVIO y deleite
> Cuando se ha atracado
> La Barca del Tiempo
> Y nada sucede. (1–4)

Es decir que estamos frente a un poeta que, tanto en el nivel de la praxis literaria como en su actividad reflexiva, coincide plenamente en sus postulados y los lleva hasta las últimas consecuencias. Como marco de referencia a estos versos, citamos estas palabras de Octavio Paz que sintetizan la problemática del tiempo en el contexto de la modernidad, aludiendo al papel que juega la poesía en este punto:

> La sociedad moderna, con su culto al trabajo, a la producción y al consumo, ha hecho del tiempo una cárcel: la poesía rompe esa cárcel. La poesía es una disipación. Así nos revela que el tiempo lineal de la modernidad, el tiempo del progreso sin fin y del trabajo sin fin, es un tiempo irreal. Lo real, dice la poesía es la paradoja del instante: ese momento en que caben todos los tiempos y que no dura más que un parpadeo. (164)

En este sentido, más que una asimilación sin reservas de los elementos de la modernidad, y de la tradición literaria que ella trajo consigo, creemos ver en la obra de Westphalen un replanteamiento de juicios que se traduce en una respuesta muchas veces adversa, y que propone sus propias perspectivas de enfoque frente al fenómeno en cuestión. El poema final de la colección reposiciona el espectro de lo que hemos expuesto al volver a enfocar la temática del tiempo. Como ya quedó advertido, este texto (así como el precedente), preludian *Abolición* y presentan una especie de síntesis de lo que venimos diciendo. Acá el yo poético dialoga con la amada quien, aunque no responde directamente, participa tácitamente con su presencia de este esquema dialógico. El tiempo se ha desacelerado en los versos: "Enarcaban semanas por donde mirabas / La justeza irradiaba de goces innombrables / El sentir cuánta lentitud" (5–7), que operan como telón de fondo de la unión entre los amantes. Es más, en este nuevo estado de cosas la percepción del curso temporal como una línea prospectiva hacia el futuro se desarticula y se pone en duda su validez. Se opone, por el contrario, una visión cíclica por la cual los ejes diametralmente opuestos se confunden y se unifican. Así, lo que empieza termina en ese mismo punto sin que avance: "Ahora estoy pensando cuándo pudo terminar esa semana / O si no terminó nunca y sólo se quedaba en principio / Y así no más moría" (38–40). Por cierto, en cada instante se contempla la posibilidad de recomenzar la acción como en una dinámica de principio/fin/principio que está en contra de la preponderancia del futuro: "Niña vamos que ya es hora / Que de nuevo principiemos" (50–1). Los versos finales son categóricos porque reproducen la idea central de la utopía temporal del libro. En ellos notamos que el discurrir que tiene importancia no es el de la historia, sino aquel que es producto del amor y está organizado a partir del ser amado:

> Pero todo está tan exactamente donde lo habías dejado
> Que no hay para qué moverlo
> Si además por sí solo se mueve
> Niña estás contenta (118–121)

Ni siquiera hay necesidad de preocuparse por producir movimiento, porque éste se manifiesta por sí solo en el terreno de la plenitud y la comunión. Esto constituye un reconfortante corolario a la vivencia

poemática expuesta en *Las ínsulas extrañas*, y un preludio a *Abolición de la muerte*, su segunda entrega poética de los años 30, antes de sumirse en un silencio editorial de más de tres décadas. En suma, Westphalen aprovechó las diversas técnicas estéticas impuestas por las vanguardias con el fin de llevar a cabo su empresa artística, asimilando y adecuando las distintas posibilidades expresivas a su propia experiencia del proceso moderno. Y el resultado es una obra que reclama—desde los recintos de la actividad literaria—un tratamiento personal del tiempo que no capitule ante ninguna idea contraria al deseo y a la búsqueda utópica del ser humano.

Notas

1 Este ensayo es una versión condensada de un capítulo de mi tesis sobre la poesía de Emilio Adolfo Westphalen. Deseo expresar mi gratitud al profesor Efraín Kristal cuya atenta lectura y comentarios sirvieron para precisar mis argumentos e ideas iniciales.

2 A este respecto, las conexiones entre erotismo, vida y muerte son subrayadas por Georges Bataille en la frase inicial de su clásico libro *Eroticism*: "Eroticism, it may be said, is assenting to life up to the point of death" (11).

3 Ver su "Presentación" a la compilación de la obra poética de Westphalen, *Bajo zarpas de la quimera: poemas 1930–1988*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1991. 9–13.

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Self-Consuming Narrative: The Problem of Reader Perspective in "La fuerza de la sangre"

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"La fuerza de la sangre" can be summarized as a tale of rape, recognition, and redemption. In some measure, discussion as to the story's "meaning" has revolved around the unsettling fact that the story's protagonist, Leocadia, a victim of rape, ostensibly finds justice in marriage to her rapist, Rodolfo.[1] The heroine's redemption of her honor is the culmination of a series of recognitions, with Rodolfo finally recognizing his victim and their biological son born of rape. As the tale's title suggests and as its final sentence reaffirms, the "force of blood" is what will in the end bind together the estranged members of this family. Yet, the fact that the happy ending is contingent upon successful recognitions becomes rather perplexing when we realize the epistemologically tenuous, sometimes contradictory, and also anachronistic circumstances of recognition itself. This thwarting of recognition's smooth move "from ignorance to knowledge,"[2] is inscribed within a more generalized problematization of the tale's whole internal epistemology, or basis for establishing knowledge within the tale. The effects of this are felt by the reader who, only by suppressing his own knowledge of certain problematic details, can make sense of a story that tends to "self-consume" at particularly crucial junctures.[3] Consequently, Cervantes' reader is often left in a state of interpretative uncertainty, as a coherent reading of the tale is steadily undermined by certain curious and insoluble interpretative problems. What follows is not a solution to these exegetical problems, but rather an analysis of how these textual phenomena give rise to a reading experience which Stanley Fish would describe as "progressive decertainizing" (384).

We observe two separate but intimately related cases of recognition unfolding over the course of the story. The first begins with Leocadia's famous "designio" involving a silver crucifix, which becomes circumstantial proof of her son's lineage (the stolen cross proves that she had been in Rodolfo's room, had been raped by him, and, consequently, that Luis is his child). The second recognition, related to the first, is the recognition of Luis's physiognomy by his grandparents and father, with the child's resemblance to the father becoming proof of their consanguinity. The first topic I will discuss is the silver crucifix which Leocadia steals from Rodolfo's room the night of the rape. Only by following the trail of the cross—apparently a key sign of recognition—do we discover its ultimate failure as a proof of Luis's identity, something with obvious implications for the reader's basic comprehension of the story. Secondly, beyond the crucifix, we will closely focus on the "human" dimension of recognition as represented in the text, which places great emphasis on the grandparents'—not the father's—recognition of Luisico based on his physical resemblance to his father.

To begin, I would like to cite Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce's critical introduction to the *Novelas ejemplares*. In his brief summary, he offers a model for how the story is generally read, with the silver cross playing a particularly central role:

> La fuerza de la sangre narra una violación y una reconciliación, separadas por un intervalo de siete años, en los cuales nace y crece Luisico, el producto de dicha violación. La violación tiene lugar en la alcoba de Rodolfo, en la casa de sus padres. Se llega a la reconciliación a través de la identificación de dicha alcoba por Leocadia en la casa de los padres de Rodolfo. En la escena de la violación Leocadia sustrae un crucifijo de Rodolfo. Para llegar a la reconciliación figura como figura descollante dicho crucifijo. (28)

Avalle-Arce goes on to state: "El crucifijo es esencial para el feliz desenlace de ambas obras, y si bien en la obra cervantina no hay milagro, esto queda contrapesado por la efectividad actuante del mudo crucifijo" (30). Others cite the cross's prominence in the story, with Joaquín Casalduero going so far as to interpret it as "la promesa [. . .]

de ser vengado del demonio" (155). Likewise Güntert acknowledges that "si el crucifijo robado es una de las pruebas del encuentro entre Leocadia y Rodolfo, la semejanza del niño con su padre representa la otra" (183). As we know, after being raped, Leocadia later produces the cross before various people to demonstrate that she had been in Rodolfo's room and, hence, had been raped and impregnated by him. This leads to Rodolfo's mother cunningly arranging a meeting and marriage between Leocadia and Rodolfo, as the latter falls in love with Leocadia and is then convinced that Luis is his son. If the cross does play a key role in the story's recognitions and in its dénouement, what, then, are we to make of the fact that the cross, whenever presented by Leocadia for purposes of recognition, is simply not recognized?

Let us recall the first encounter between Leocadia and Rodolfo's parents. Luis had been trampled by a horse and spirited away to the house of Rodolfo's parents, Estefanía and her husband, a "caballero anciano" (2.86).[4] Leocadia and her parents arrive to find Luis in stable condition. As Leocadia begins to examine the room in which she now finds herself, she recognizes it as the exact site of her rape seven years prior: "miró atentamente el aposento donde su hijo estaba, y claramente por muchas señales conoció que aquella era la estancia donde se había dado fin a su honra y principio a su desventura" (2.87). She then informs her mother of these findings, who then inquires "si el caballero donde su nieto estaba había tenido o tenía algún hijo" (2.87). The affirmative response along with a calculation of the years Rodolfo was said to have been in Italy finally completes Leocadia's recognition that this was the room in which she had been raped and that, consequently, Rodolfo was the rapist.

For one month, Luis convalesces in the home of the noble family. On a visit to see her son, Leocadia decides to tell Estefanía that Luis is in fact her grandson. Estefanía has just observed how Luis "se parecía tanto a un hijo suyo" before the narrator summarizes what Leocadia tells Estefanía of "la travesura de su hijo, la deshonra suya, el robo, el cubrirle los ojos, el traerla a aquel aposento, las señales en que había conocido ser aquel mismo que sospechaba" (2.88). To substantiate all of this, Leocadia produces the stolen cross: "Para cuya confirmación sacó del pecho la imagen del crucifijo, que había llevado. . . ." (2.88). Leocadia then launches into a monologue addressed to the crucifix before falling "desmayada en los brazos de Estefanía" (2.88). In the completion of recognition that follows, I would like to

call attention to the fact that the crucifix, as described in the text, is never recognized by Estefanía nor her husband:

> [Estefanía], como mujer y noble, en quien la compasión y misericordia suele ser tan natural como la crueldad en el hombre, apenas vio el desmayo de Leocadia cuando juntó su rostro con el suyo derramando sobre él tantas lágrimas que no fue menester esparcirle otra agua encima para que Leocadia en sí volviese.
>
> Estando las dos desta manera acertó a entrar el caballero marido de Estefanía, que traía a Luisico de la mano, y viendo el llanto de Estefanía y el desmayo de Leocadia preguntó a gran priesa le dijesen la causa de do procedía. El niño abrazaba a su madre por su prima y a su abuela por su bienechora, y asimismo preguntaba por qué lloraban.
>
> —Grandes cosas, señor, hay que deciros—respondió Estefanía a su marido—, cuyo remate se acabará con deciros que hagáis cuenta que esta desmayada es hija vuestra y este niño vuestro nieto. *Esta verdad que os digo me ha dicho esta niña, y la ha confirmado y confirma el rostro deste niño, en el cual entrambos habemos visto el de nuestro hijo.*" (2.89; my emphasis)

Thus, while Leocadia deliberately produces the cross in order to be recognized as having been in Rodolfo's room the night of the rape, it is never indicated that the crucifix is recognized by Estefanía, who never makes any reference to it. Nor does the narrator mention Estefanía as having recognized the crucifix. Estefanía appears more convinced of Leocadia's story based specifically on her pre-established recognition of Luis's physiognomy—"el rostro deste niño"—not the crucifix. At one moment, Estefanía's words might seem to refer to Leocadia having substantiated her narrative with some proof—"y la ha confirmado"—yet the subject here is unclear; it could correspond to "el rostro deste niño," although "el rostro" is subject to the verb "confirma." Otherwise, "confirmation" could easily refer to the verbal proofs offered by Leocadia as to her knowledge of the family home: "las señales en que había conocido ser aquel [aposento el] mismo

que sospechaba." Subsequently, to his wife's revelation, the *caballero* responds, "señora, yo no os entiendo" (2.89). When Estefanía tells him "todo aquello que Leocadia le había contado," he "lo creyó, por divina permisión del cielo, como si con muchos y verdaderos testigos se lo hubieran probado" (2.89). Thus, neither Estefanía nor her husband ever recognize the circumstantial proof of Luis's paternity—the cross—presented to them by Leocadia, an object never so much as mentioned by its original owners. Rather it is the face of the boy, Luis, in whom they see the compelling resemblance of their own son. Consequently, the question is not whether the reader or characters are confronted by signs of dubious authenticity; the reader is perfectly aware of the cross's provenance. The problem lies in the sign never serving as sign. Hard proof of Luis's lineage is presented, yet it goes unrecognized by his grandparents who have by now seen so much of their wandering son in the visage of this little boy named Luis.

We now follow the crucifix to its reappearance in the final recognition scene. One could surmise that the absence of an explicit recognition of the crucifix by Rodolfo's parents is secondary to Rodolfo himself recognizing it, as it is his recognition of Luis's paternity via the crucifix that truly matters. Yet, Rodolfo's recognition of the cross never occurs either. As we will see, Rodolfo's non-recognition of the crucifix is one of various interpretative dilemmas in this final scene, whose events follow a very odd chronology in which marriage actually precedes recognition.

Thus, we begin with the fact that Rodolfo and Leocadia are married—at his mother's behest—before Rodolfo is ever informed of Leocadia's true identity or that of his son (2.94). By extension, neither Rodolfo's ostensible recognition of his error (rape) nor recognition of his child occasion the marriage. Rodolfo, in marrying Leocadia, has not done so based on any inner transformation or recognition of the injustice committed against her, of which Luis is the living sign. Luis's existence remains unknown to Rodolfo as he falls for Leocadia—still unaware of her identity—driven not by spiritual affinity but by raw desire: "llevado de su amoroso y encendido deseo" (2.94).[5] Only *after* the marriage and in the midst of a celebration does Estefanía (via the narrator) reveal the truth to Rodolfo and his "camaradas": "que Leocadia era la doncella que en su [las camaradas de Rodolfo] compañía su hijo había robado" (2.94). In theory, this marks the moment of Rodolfo's recognition of Leocadia's identity, although

whether he is actually capable of recognizing her is subject to doubt.: "Rodolfo se fue [a Italia] con tan poca memoria de lo que con Leocadia le había sucedido como si nunca hubiera pasado" (2.85). Here we have a conflict in signification in which the text casts doubt on Rodolfo's ability to remember this victim of his. A second example will serve to further undermine our faith in the character's ability to recognize the truth of things.

Next, the narrator describes Rodolfo's reaction to the revelation of Leocadia's identity: "Y por certificarse más de aquella verdad preguntó a Leocadia le dijese alguna señal por donde viniese en conocimiento entero de lo que no dudaba, por parecerles que sus padres lo tendrían bien averiguado" (2.94). Leocadia responds with, as she describes it, a presentation of two signs:

> Cuando yo recordé y volví en mí de otro desmayo me hallé, señor, en vuestros brazos sin honra; pero yo lo doy por bien empleado, pues al volver del que ahora he tenido, ansimismo me hallé en los brazos de entonces, pero honrada. *Y si esta señal no basta, baste la de una imagen de un crucifijo que nadie os la pudo hurtar sino yo: si es que por la mañana le echastes menos y si es el mismo que tiene mi señora.* (2.95; my emphasis)

Rodolfo demonstrates no recognition of these "señales," as the narrator has the next word: "Y abrazándola de nuevo, de nuevo volvieron las bendiciones y parabienes que les dieron" (2.95).[6] Again, not only does Rodolfo not acknowledge the crucifix, but also, on close inspection, we find that the crucifix is probably not even in his view; Leocadia clearly does not present it to him, but rather only references the crucifix as being "el mismo que tiene mi señora," meaning that the cross may or may not even be present.[7] Whether the crucifix is visible to him or not would probably make no difference, for, according to the narrator, neither Rodolfo nor his parents would probably be capable of recognizing a crucifix of which they are hardly even aware: the morning after the theft, seven years prior, "Rodolfo [. . .] echando de menos la imagen del crucifijo, imaginó quién podía haberla llevado; *pero no se le dio nada, y como rico, no hizo cuenta dello, ni sus padres se la pidieron cuando de allí a tres días que él partió a Italia, entregó por cuenta a sus camarera de su madre todo lo que en el aposento*

dejaba" (2.84; my emphasis). As early as the time Rodolfo had left for Italy, seven years prior, this cross seems to have figured little—if at all—in the household's collective consciousness, nor does it now figure in its written inventory. Once again, the cross appears to be instrumental to recognition, yet now it might not even be present in the recognition scene. To be sure, this would not be the only time that Cervantes would attenuate the certainty of recognition by excluding the signs themselves from the recognition scene.[8]

Finally, in her presentation of signs to Rodolfo, we find that Leocadia has omitted the one sign that others have found so compelling: Luis's physiognomy. Curiously, she simply never cites her son's visage as proof of Rodolfo's paternity. When Rodolfo finally, on his own accord, does recognize Luis, it is a fleeting moment of little consequence, described in one brief sentence embedded within the narrator's description of the wedding festivities: "Vino la cena, y vinieron músicos que para esto estaban prevenidos. *Viose Rodolfo a sí mismo en el espejo del rostro de su hijo*. Lloraron sus cuatro abuelos de gusto. No quedó rincón en toda la casa que no fue visitado con júbilo. . . ." (2.95; my emphasis). Once again, as he is only now recognizing his son, we know his marriage to Leocadia to not have been motivated by a sense of paternal duty, just as he too only learned of Leocadia's identity after taking the marriage vows. Recognition of his son, *ex post facto*, occurs easily for Rodolfo as the proofs now seem overwhelmingly clear to him: not only does he have his mother's assurances, Leocadia's testimonial and her *mention* of the cross, he now is able to see himself in his son's visage. In any case, as he himself suggests, Rodolfo need not trouble himself too much as to the veracity of Leocadia's story as certainly "sus padres lo tendrían bien averiguado."[9] However, we recall, they too had failed to recognize the one sign—the crucifix—indicating Leocadia had even been in their home as she had claimed. And, they too, as the narrator already informed us, might not remember owning such a cross: "ni sus padres se la [imagen del crucifijo] pidieron cuando de allí a tres días que él partió a Italia."

Thus, the cross appears to never actually function as a proof of Luis's identity within the text. Nowhere does the text indicate that the characters recognize the cross when it is shown to them. Moreover, the text even goes so far as to self-reflexively prompt the reader to question the recognizers' ability to recognize the cross. What this

means is that, thus far, Cervantes has put the reader in the peculiar position of having to make sense of recognitions that only superficially appear to satisfy recognition's theoretical move "from ignorance to knowledge," but which actually disrupt the reader's comprehension of the story by infusing textual content with epistemological uncertainty. It should be mentioned that such an unusual textual configuration actually has theoretical underpinnings in an ingenious narrative "trick" based on *anagnorisis*, as understood by certain neo-Aristotelian theorists.[10] Whatever the theoretical case may be, in various instances, the basis for establishing knowledge within the text, acceptable for the characters, is actually filled with holes and elicits questions from the reader. Yet, the cross is only one of two means of establishing truth and identity within the tale. The other is of course Luis' physiognomy. In what remains of this paper, I would like to re-examine how the process of recognition might otherwise unfold in the text in exclusion of the cross. Toward this end, I would like to resume my analysis at that crucial point in the narrative when Luis is trampled by a horse and his paternal grandfather comes to his rescue, unbeknownst to him that the boy is actually his grandson.

Alban K. Forcione describes the encounter between Luis and his grandfather as follows:

> With the appearance of the child, people begin to look at one another, and, when the grandfather asserts that, gazing on the fallen child lying in the pool of blood pouring from his head, 'it appeared to him that he had beheld the face of a son of his, whom he dearly loved,' it is as if all the masks, the coverings, and the shadows that have remained impenetrable to vision in the tale were suddenly lifted. (368)

Whereas Forcione sees this moment as a lifting of shadows and a moment of clarity, I would like to propose that it, rather differently, marks the beginning of a process of recognition which we have already seen to be so problematic, from the reader's perspective. As we will now see, the grandfather's first encounter with Luis initiates another means by which recognition will be effected over the course of the story, recognition via Luis' physiognomy. Yet, as was the case with the cross, recognition based on physical appearance will be no less problematic, as far as the reader is concerned.

In fact, this first encounter between the grandfather and Luis is itself unusual as first demonstrated in Forcione's citation, which in the original Spanish reads: "cuando vió al niño caído y atropellado, *le pareció que había visto el rostro de un hijo suyo*, a quien él quería tiernamente, y que esto le movió a tomarle en sus brazos y a traerle a su casa" (2.86, my emphasis). That is, the *caballero*'s initial fortuitous recognition of his injured grandson and subsequent desire to take him home is not textually represented to be an instinctive "blood-will-tell" type attraction; nor does the narrator at that particular moment describe the grandfather as "gazing on the fallen child lying in the pool of blood pouring from his head," as Forcione suggested above. That is, neither real blood nor any kind of blood-type attraction has been mentioned yet. Instead, recognition, we are told, is based solely on what *seemed* to the *caballero* to be the face of his son: "le pareció que había visto el rostro de un hijo suyo." As stated in the text, it is this *parecer* and this alone which "le movió a tomarle en sus brazos y a traerle a su casa," not any biological attraction. In the context of *anagnorisis*, the use of "parecer" serves to further attenuate the already uncertain recognition based solely on physical resemblance ("parecerse"); that is, not only does the narrator not state that there was a biological attraction between the two, nor does he simply state that the child "resembled" the man's own son, but rather we are told that "it seemed" to the man that he had seen the visage of his own boy in Luis's face. This, of course, recalls the well-known Cervantine perspectivist equivocation based on "pareceres," as first explained by Américo Castro.[11] Subsequently, the text will re-emphasize this recognition based solely on perspective and appearance in a comment made by Estefanía: "Y algunas veces, hablando con Leocadia doña Estefanía [. . .] le decía que aquel niño se parecía tanto a un hijo suyo que estaba en Italia, que ninguna vez le miraba que no le pareciese [ver][12] a su hijo delante [. . .]" (2.87, my emphasis). It goes without saying that this whole question of resemblance between Luis and Rodolfo is further attenuated given their age disparity, one a grown man, the other a boy 8 years of age.

The effect of these comments made by the grandparents is that the epistemological uncertainty connoted by the verb "parecer" has been introduced into the process of recognition, a process whose certainty will only continue to become attenuated in the characters' repeated failure to recognize the crucifix and the narrator's suggestion that such

a cross was unrecognizable to them. Whatever one chooses to make of the relationship between "parecer" and recognition, it does serve to erode the epistemological basis of recognition, as perception and physical resemblance are emphasized to the exclusion of the traditional instinctive or "blood" attraction.[13] Again, it is not a question of the reader not knowing the child's identity, which he does know, but rather it is a question of the reader continuing to witness recognitions occurring among characters that fail to establish "knowledge" in a way that is convincing to the reader. The text continues to elicit questions in the midst of recognition, a process whose theoretical function of bringing forth the underlying truth of things now becomes problematized at every step.

However, this is only one of various moments in the text in which the grandfather's recognition of Luis is described, which we have seen to not be based on an instinctive biological attraction. The "parecer" comment we just analyzed was made retrospectively, after Luis was in the safety of his grandparents' home well after the accident. Let us now return to the actual moment of the accident to see how recognition might have unfolded. The accident:

> [D]ejóle [Luis] como muerto tendido en el suelo, derramando mucha sangre de la cabeza. Apenas esto hubo sucedido, cuando un caballero anciano que estaba mirando la carrera, con no vista ligereza se arrojó de su caballo y fue donde estaba el niño, y quitándole de los brazos de uno que ya le tenía le puso en los suyos, y sin tener cuenta con sus canas ni con su autoridad, que era mucho, a paso largo se fue a su casa [. . .]. (2.86)

First, the "miraculousness" of the encounter between Luis and his grandfather seems slightly diminished given that the *caballero* actually takes the injured Luisico from somebody else who was comforting him: "quitándole de los brazos de uno que ya le tenía." More significantly, the text does not indicate that there was a recognition prior to the *caballero*'s taking of Luis from the other onlooker. In fact, everything transpires so rapidly as to almost prevent such a recognition; the man acted "con no vista ligereza." That is, as the narrator tells us, neither the sight of blood nor the child's visage—neither of which are mentioned—provoke anything similar to recognition at the moment

the *caballero* first encounters the injured boy. Nor do we observe any kind of "blood" attraction.

Let us compare this to the third description of that encounter, found in the last sentence of the tale: "permitido todo por el cielo y por *la fuerza de la sangre, que vio derramada en el suelo el valeroso, ilustre y cristiano abuelo de Luisico*" (2.95). Different than the previous two descriptions, this one appears to represent recognition not as a function of Luis's appearance, but rather as a result of "la sangre, que vio derramada en el suelo." Again, at the actual moment of recognition the narrator never described any such sighting of "blood on the ground" by the *caballero*. Moreover, *spilled* blood, it should be noted, is not a component of the "blood will tell" motif, which is a psychological-biological reaction in the recognizer when in the presence of the recognized, something which never occurs here, as far as the reader knows. Therefore, any definitive statement of recognition based on Luis's unquestionable likeness to Rodolfo appears to self-consume in these three distinct and even contradictory representations of recognition, all of which leave questions as to how and why recognition was actually precipitated in the grandfather's mind. Most curious is that the narrator never describes recognition as happening at the moment at which it is in fact supposed to have transpired. Thus, when the grandfather observes that "*le pareció* que había visto el rostro de un hijo suyo," it is well after the fact, a retrospective comment, specifically made when the child is lying in the bed of the *caballero*'s own son, Rodolfo, now years absent from home.

Just as Doña Estefanía previously emphasized "el rostro de este niño" as proof positive of Luis's paternity, the grandfather's recognition appears to be exclusively based on appearances. In and of itself, recognition based on physiognomy might not strike a reader as running contrary to sound literary logic. Whatever one's opinion might be, the notion of recognition based on physiognomy will indirectly be questioned when the text eventually subjects Luis's paternity to doubt, a topic which one must set aside for the moment.

In any event, the *caballero* is driven to take Luisico to his home, ostensibly based on the man's recognition of a resemblance between the boy and his own son. It is now that his wife, Doña Estefanía, also begins to develop a relationship with Luis. She, as already mentioned, also sees the resemblance. If her husband was responsible for bringing the boy to the family home, then it will be Doña Estefanía

who takes charge of reuniting and facilitating recognition among all the parties involved, Rodolfo, Leocadia, and their son Luis. In fact, Doña Estefanía reveals her Odyssean sagacity when cunningly choreographing a ruse in order to manipulate her son into marrying Leocadia, a rushed marriage occurring well before Rodolfo even recognizes Leocadia as the mother of his child.

Like the *cura* in the Captain's story (*Don Quixote* 1.39–41), Doña Estefanía will now assume the role of mediator in recognition, in this case between Rodolfo and Leocadia.[14] That is, Doña Estefanía's "designio" will now be implemented (2.90).[15] The first move is to send Rodolfo, now in Italy, a message informing him that "le tenían concertado casamiento con una mujer hermosa sobremanera y tal cual para él convenía" (2.89). Rodolfo, upon hearing the news, eagerly departs for Toledo "con la golosina de gozar de tan hermosa mujer" (2.89). The news about the arranged marriage is actually true, as Rodolfo's parents hope to marry him to Leocadia. Yet, what follows is pure deception on his mother's part. Rodolfo arrives and is discussing his bride-to-be with his parents. Doña Estefanía shows him a portrait not of Leocadia, but of an unknown girl who we learn is rather unattractive: "Este es su verdadero retrato; pero quiérote advertir que lo que le falta de belleza le sobra de virtud; es noble y discreta y medianamente rica, y pues tu padre y yo te la hemos escogido, asegúrate que es la que te conviene" (II, 91). Thus, Doña Estefanía has begun to spin an ingenious fiction directed at her son, and she fools him by showing him a portrait not of Leocadia but of some anonymous and unattractive girl. Upon seeing the portrait, Rodolfo responds negatively, emphasizing that he must have a beautiful wife: "sin duda creo que el original debe de ser la misma fealdad [. . .]. Pues pensar que un rostro feo, que se ha de tener a todas horas delante de los ojos, en la sala, en la mesa y en la cama, puede deleitar, otra vez digo que lo tengo por casi imposible [. . .]. La hermosura busco, la belleza quiero [. . .] (2.91). It turns out that this reaction of disgust is just what his mother had hoped for, given (as the text implies) she believes Rodolfo will now be more inclined to fall for the ostensibly more beautiful Leocadia: "Contentísima quedó su madre de las razones de Rodolfo, por haber conocido por ellas que iba saliendo bien con su designio" (2.91).

Above, we observed the cunning of Estefanía in tricking her son. This simple trick now becomes quite elaborate and will reach theatrical proportion as her entire staff, Leocadia's parents, and Leocadia

and Luis themselves are given "roles" to play, all with the goal, not of effecting recognition, but rather of luring Rodolfo into marrying Leocadia. Leocadia appears before Rodolfo:

> Venía vestida, por ser invierno, de una saya entera de terciopelo negro llovida de botones de oro y perlas, cintura y collar de diamantes. Sus mismos cabellos, que eran luengos y no demasiado rubios, le servían de adorno y tocas, cuya invención de lazos y rizos y vislumbres de diamantes que con ellos se entretenían, turbaban la luz de los ojos que los miraban. Era Leocadia de gentil disposición y brío. Traía de la mano a su hijo, y delante della venían dos doncellas alumbrándola con dos velas de cera en dos candeleros de plata. (2.92)

The elaborate appearance of Leocadia and choreography of this entire scene are all part of Doña Estefanía's strategem which, as we now see, produces the desired effect on Rodolfo: "que desde más cerca miraba la incomparable belleza de Leocadia, decía entre sí: 'Si la mitad desta hermosura tuviera la que mi madre me tiene escogida por esposa, tuviérame yo por el más dichose hombre del mundo.' ¡Válame Dios! ¡Qué es esto que veo! ¿Es por ventura algún angel humano el que estoy mirando?" (2.92).

Soon Leocadia faints and Rodolfo comes to her rescue, also fainting in the process. When he awakens:

> su madre, casi como adivina de lo que su hijo sentía, le dijo: —No te corras, hijo, de los extremos que has hecho, sino córrete de los que no hicieres cuando sepas lo que no quiero tenerte más encubierto, puesto que pensaba dejarlo hasta más alegre coyuntura. Has de saber, hijo de mi alma, que esta desmayada que en los brazos tengo es tu verdadera esposa; llamo verdadera porque yo y tu padre te la teníamos escogida, que la del retrato es falsa. (2.94)

Curiously, Estefanía continues by "diciendo al cura que luego desposase a su hijo con Leocadia" (2.94). Leocadia and Rodolfo are swiftly married, and then, anachronistically, Rodolfo receives the truth of Leocadia's identity, albeit with very little specificity. And, as we

have already seen, the text does not show us that Rodolfo is actually capable of recognizing the crucifix, nor even this girl.[16]

Thus, if the *cura*, as did Odysseus long before him, used deceptive means to gauge the recognizer's affections and thereby better control recognition, we find Doña Estefanía taking the use of deceptive recognition to new heights. In traditional recognition scenes, deception is only used as a gauge of affections: either as a means to ascertain fidelity (in the case of Odysseus) or to gauge psychological state so as to more effectively ease two parties into the "shock" awaiting them at the moment of recognition (as the *cura* does in the Captain's tale). The reestablishment of interpersonal relationships then takes place subsequent to recognition. In Doña Estefanía's ruse we observe something very different. The direct result of—and we can safely say the purpose behind—the ruse is not recognition, but rather marriage, which actually precedes recognition. Here, marriage effectively means the spontaneous formation of a nuclear family comprised of Rodolfo, Leocadia, and Luis. As we have already observed, Rodolfo's recognition of his future wife and child does not take place until after marriage, as Estefanía hastened the couple into taking vows. Thus, some very basic questions emerge as to Doña Estefanía's "designio": Why is she so personally invested specifically in her son's marriage, rather than, say, his contrition? Does she have any concrete interest in the couple's marriage, an act she single-handedly orchestrates? While the text offers no specific answers to these questions, what we do know is that Doña Estefanía had long ago decided that Luis was her grandson and that maintaining that relationship would be contingent upon marriage of her son to Leocadia. Marriage, not recognition, appears to be of overriding concern here: if no marriage were to occur, then there would be no grandchild for Estefanía. Thus, *her* needs could appear to be the driving force behind this ruse, not those of her son. Likewise, it appears that this character's "real" interests have insinuated themselves into what began as a "miraculous" process of recognition, initiated in the fortuitous encounter between grandfather and child. Just what motivates Estefanía is subject to doubt and is something that Cervantes leaves the reader to sort out. In any case, recognition continues to call attention to itself, it requires interpretation, yet the text yields no clear answers.

In "La fuerza de la sangre," as in other *Novelas*, recognition persistently figures as a focal point of exegetical uncertainty.[17] What makes

"La fuerza de la sangre" unique is that the reader has for the most part enjoyed a privileged point of view throughout the story, namely concerning the identities of the characters, especially Luis. Nevertheless, there exists considerable uncertainty regarding the reading of signs of identity. The problem of the signs has to do with the text leaving the reader to sort out the fact that characters have not recognized the signs at all—as in the case of the crucifix—or, otherwise, there is textual equivocation as to what actually precipitates recognition of Luis in the mind of the grandfather. In short, one feels a certain "anxiety," to use Terence Cave's term, owing to the discernible slippage between what the reader knows to be the truth and the ability of the characters to recognize it for themselves in a way that is convincing to the reader.[18] In spite of recognition's peculiar shortcomings—in spite of its "pareceres"—it would be gratuitous to even entertain the notion that the grandfather could have been mistaken, that this boy who *seems* to look like his son might not be his son. We categorically reject this idea as being absurd as we know Luis to have been born of Rodolfo's rape of Leocadia. Yet, the text does not let us reject it so easily, for once Luis has reached the age of seven, the narrator does not describe him as looking like Rodolfo, the man we know to be his father, but rather as looking like "some" man of nobility: "daba señales de ser de *algún noble padre engendrado*" (2.85, my emphasis).

Just what exactly is meant by "de algún noble padre engendrado" would not merit a second thought if not for the persistent interpretative problems posed by recognition throughout this tale, of which we have seen many examples. Thus, the next logical step would be to ask a question which at first seems absurd, yet which the text itself mischievously invites one to ask: Could this child, Luis, have been sired by a man other than Rodolfo? Naturally, we have no way of definitively answering this question. On the other hand, scientifically speaking, we do not have any concrete proof that Rodolfo is the biological father; we simply know that he raped Leocadia. Overshadowing this fact, we also have the narrator telling us that the child resembles "some" (other?) man of nobility. Here, the reader is confronted with a basic conflict of signification and, to be sure, it would not be the first time a Cervantine *Novela* would self-consume at such a crucial narrative juncture.[19]

So, what is one to do with this "de algún noble padre engendrado"? On the one hand, the text now opens itself to the reader's imagina-

tion. A particularly imaginative reader might refashion these textual fragments into a metanarrative as follows: Leocadia was impregnated out of wedlock by 'some' man of nobility. Soon after, she happened one night to be attacked by Rodolfo, who, by raping her, unwittingly concealed her previous dishonor, by now granting her victim status. In this scenario, Leocadia, actually submitted to abduction and the horror of rape in order to avoid an even more horrific prospect: having to reveal and having to live with the fact that she previously had had consensual sex with and become impregnated out of wedlock by 'some' other man of nobility. In such an honor-bound society, there was paradoxically more honor in being impregnated by rape than by choice when out of wedlock. Thus, in the eyes of her parents and (only after being married) in the eyes of society, Leocadia retains her honor by concealing her initial pregnancy behind the guise of rape. Consequently, it is possible that Luis was fathered by 'some' other man of nobility, although we can never truly know his paternity.

Wherever one's imagination might lead him, the text itself stops well short. We simply cannot know if there was "some" other man of nobility, as the text tantalizingly infers. While the question of paternity appears to lead to a dead end, it is a question meriting further exploration given that it lingers about the text in unexpected ways that will prove still more disruptive to the reader's ability to make easy sense of what "really" happens in this tale. Our focus necessarily shifts to Leocadia.

Leocadia has been the subject of critical attention owing to her "discreción" and general cunning.[20] The fact is that, Leocadia, far from being a one-dimensional character, is actually one of Cervantes' most unfathomable. In addition to being cunning, Leocadia is probably the most duplicitous character in all of Cervantes' work. Her duplicity has often been cited, I believe myopically, as an example of the author's failure to create coherent characters in this tale.[21] Here duplicity—manifested as repeated and inexplicable behavioral contradictions—are what make her not only a highly problematic, but also an unreliable character. She is "unreliable" in the sense that the reader is repeatedly made aware that she is not forthright in what she says and does. This could have far reaching consequences for the reader: If Leocadia is unreliable, then Luis' paternity, and, ultimately, the "rape and redemption" narrative itself fall under a shadow of doubt. Thus, I echo Kartchner's feelings on the matter: "Am I suggesting

that Leocadia raped Rodolfo, or that Rodolfo did not rape Leocadia? No. [. . .] [H]owever, certain words or phrases cause me to question the apparent intentions of the narrator and the characters and to readjust the way I view the presentation of the rape" (546). Let us see how Leocadia's character is constructed in such a way as to inspire interpretative uncertainty in the reader.

We are introduced to Leocadia at the begining of the tale. Soon, she is kidnapped and raped. Once she awakens in her assailant's bedroom, she launches into a lengthy monologue which includes a desperate request for Rodolfo to kill her, "¡Quítamela [vida] al momento, que no es bien que la tenga la que no tiene honra!" (2.79). Soon after, she retracts this request: "No quiero desesperarme, porque te costará poco el dármele" (2.80). Another peculiar behavioral contradiction is seen in the remarkable difference in her reaction to Rodolfo's first attack, during the kidnapping, and a second attack against her when in his bedroom: Rodolfo easily spirited away Leocadia "*la cual no tuvo fuerzas para defenderse* y el sobresalto le quitó la voz para quejarse, y aun la luz de los ojos, pues, desmayada y sin sentido, no vio quién la llevaba, ni a dónde la llevaban" (2.78; my emphasis). Yet, Rodolfo's second attempt to rape her fails as "Leocadia, *con más fuerzas de las que su tierna edad prometían*, se defendió con los pies, con las manos, con los dientes..." (2.81; my emphasis). Perhaps the most troubling contradictions are those arising from her irreconcilable desires to simultaneously forget and to remember her rapist. Leocadia states to Rodolfo: "no quiero acordarme de mi ofensor ni guardar en la memoria la imagen del autor de mi daño" (2.80). Yet, almost immediately afterward, we find that her "discreto designio" involving the theft of the cross and memorizing details of the room has no other purpose than to use these as signs by which to some day recognize (or be recognized by) her assailant. In fact, by the time she reaches home just after the rape, she reveals to her father a cunning scheme by which the cross could be used to determine the identity of her rapist (2.83). Oddly, just moments after arriving home, she had stated that "no deseaba venir en conocimiento de su ofensor" (2.83). Quite simply, the reader has no idea as to whether Leocadia intends to put the rape out of memory, or to hunt down the rapist. Leocadia's character self-consumes amidst her conflicting motivations, thus leaving the reader to wonder just who she is and what her real intentions are.

Still more of Leocadia's equivocations merit our attention. At the moment of the theft, the narrator states that Leocadia took the icon "no por devoción ni por hurto, sino llevada de un discreto designio suyo" (2.82). Yet, the object suddenly acquires sentimental value when she produces it for Estefanía: Leocadia states to the crucifix, "te llevé con propósito de acordarte siempre mi agravio" (2.88). Likewise, we find Leocadia stating that the cross was taken "para rogarte [la cruz] me dieses algún consuelo con que llevar en paciencia mi desgracia" (2.88). In addition to these obvious contradictions, still more could be said of Leocadia's unreliability given her apititude for ingenious schemes and her subtle but telling suggestion that she might be capable of feigning a swoon.[22]

One could debate the inconsistency in Leocadia's character as being the result of careless writing or as being a facet of a greater narrative strategy. Yet, based on the preceding textual evidence that this story tends to inspire uncertainty surrounding the characters and circumstances of recognition, Leocadia's unfathomable character is simply one more attempt to confound the reader's ability to make easy sense of the plot's most basic parameters. We are not told that Leocadia is lying about Luis's paternity, that she is manipulating Rodolfo and the reader into believing something that is not true. Rather it is repeatedly suggested to the reader that Leocadia's actions and words might not be what they appear to be, given her constantly shifting motivations. Compounding the problem is the narrator whose "de algún noble padre engendrado" comment leaves much uncertainty and much room for interpretation, and ultimately casts doubt on Leocadia herself and Luis' paternity. Short of yielding up some hidden truth about Luis' paternity (some "figure in the carpet") all the text does is inspire doubt and nothing more.

Guided by Stanley Fish's concept of "self-consuming artifacts," I have attempted to analyze "La fuerza de la sangre" by following a methodology in which one question ("What does this story *mean*?") has been substituted by another ("What does this story *do*?"). Just what this story does to the reader is, I hope, clearer now that we have enumerated the ways in which the text undermines the reader's sense of the truth of the story's own events. That is, the objective here has not been to "crack the code" of the text to identify a possible hidden meaning. Rather, I have only attempted to describe certain interpretative problems arising from this text's highly problematic means of

communicating information to the reader. Generally speaking, recognition is a process by which latent narrrative truths are manifested to reader and/or character. Yet, recognition, as it unfolds in "La fuerza de la sangre," moves in the opposite direction, repeatedly obscuring (apparent) facts or truths in ways that render reader perspective highly problematic. In other words, one observes in this tale various events (usually recognitions) whose basic truth self-consumes at crucial junctures: a crucifix is presented for recognition, although it appears to have gone unrecognized by those unable to recognize it; Luis's resemblance to Rodolfo appears to have precipitated the grandfather's recognition of him, yet the text obscures that event by offering alternative and contradictory explanations of it; Luis's paternity seems indisputable, yet the text again turns back on itself and asks the reader to question this "fact;" finally, we read this tale as a "rape and redemption" narrative, yet the narrator's "algún noble padre" comment and the unreliability of Leocadia's character cast a long shadow of doubt over her role in the rape and over her motivation in general. Leocadia's duplicitousness also finds form in Doña Estefanía, whose cunning choreography of the marriage scene elicits basic questions from the reader regarding her true motivation, which is unclear in the text. Given "La fuerza de la sangre"'s problematization of reader perpspective, it could aptly be labeled as perspectivist, or self-consuming, or, as Américo Castro once generally described Cervantes's style, "elusivo."[23] However one chooses to frame it, it is a narrative whose self-reflexive tendency to undermine its own truth vis-à-vis the reader would probably appear unthinkable as a deliberate narrative gambit, if not for the fact that Cervantes is best known for a certain chivalric "history" whose own authenticity and authority never cease to be subject to doubt throughout the story.

Notes

1. As Ruth El Saffar states, "[f]or the modern reader it is almost impossible to understand how a girl could fall in love with and marry the same man who had raped her seven years earlier" (128). Thus, the story's unsettling outcome has led to a number of symbolical or allegorical interpretations that forward the idea of a morally exemplary ending signified in the rapist's marriage to his victim and the resultant recovery of her honor.

See, for example, Casalduero (160–65), El Saffar (136-38), Forcione (391), Calcraft (283–85), and Slaniceanu (107). Oppositely, Kartchner (1998) cleverly reasseses the text and questions the nature of the story's events in light of discursive ambiguities that appear to problematize a morally exemplary reading of the tale.

2. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle defines *anagnorisis*, or recognition, as "a change by which those marked for good or for bad fortune pass from a state of ignorance into a state of knowledge which disposes them either to friendship or enmity towards each other." I now and will continue to cite *The Poetics of Aristotle*, trans., Preston H. Epps (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 21.

3. Stanley Fish defines a "self-consuming artifact" as a text in which "[t]he prose is continually opening, but then closing, on the possibility of verification in one direction or another" (385). A self-consuming artifact could encompass a variety of phenomena, such as "the projection of syntactical and/or lexical probabilities; their subsequent occurence or non-occurrence; attitudes toward persons, or things, or ideas referred to; the reversal or questioning of those attitudes; and much more" (388).

4. Unless otherwise noted, all citations from "La fuerza de la sangre," are from Miguel de Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, ed., Harry Sieber, vol. 2.

5. I agree with Gitlitz and Zimic that there is little textual justification to believe that Rodolfo has undergone a spiritual transformation by tale's end, an idea set forth by many, for example Calcraft: "Three years in Italy have wrought such a change in him that we seem to be in the presence of a man who understands the complexities of human relationships [. . .]" (201).

6. Zimic perceptively observes that "el crucifijo que Leocadia le muestra no le causa a Rodolfo contrición alguna, ni siquiera la más leve emoción [. . .]" (211).

7. It is interesting to note how the unusual treatment of the cross in these scenes might invite a misreading. Alban K. Forcione's analysis, from which my own reading has greatly benefited, deviates from the text: "However, in the concluding recognition scene, [Leocadia] returns from her third swoon and responds to Rodolfo's request for proof (a "*señal*") of her identity *by producing the cross* and reminding him that she alone could have stolen it on the day of its disappearance" (380, my emphasis). Again, Leocadia does not "produce" the cross, rather she unequivocally states that it is in the possession of her "señora."

8. In the *Persiles*, the episode of Feliciana de la Voz (288–309) confronts the reader with a similar situation in which the key sign of recog-

nition is simply absent in the climactic final recognition. When recognition does finally occur, the child being "recognized" is not even present, yet is successfully recognized but only on the tenuous basis of verbal asertions of his resemblance to the mother's brother.

9. In addition to the fact that Estefanía has not (and could not?) recognize the crucifix, we do find her making another attempt to ascertain facts from the night of the rape, so as to assure herself, presumably, of Leocadia's version of the events. As one can see, this scene continues to inspire uncertainty as to whether these were even the same friends present the night of the rape, thereby showing Estefanía to still be basing her recognition of Luis on the shiftiest of foundations: "Los camaradas de Rodolfo quisieran irse a sus casas luego, pero no lo consintió Estefanía por haberlos menester para su designio. Estaba cerca la noche cuando Rodolfó llegó, y, en tanto que se aderezaba la cena, Estefanía llamó aparte los camaradas de su hijo, creyendo, sin duda alguna, que ellos debían ser los dos de los tres que Leocadia había dicho que iban con Rodolfo la noche que la robaron, y con grandes ruegos les pidió le dijesen si se acordaban que su hijo había robado a una mujer tal noche, tantos años había . . . *Y con tantos y tales encarecimientos se lo supo rogar y de tal manera les asegurar que de descubrir este robo no les podía suceder daño alguno, que ellos tuvieron por bien de confesar ser verdad que una noche de verano, yendo ellos dos y otro amigo con Rodolfo, robaron en la misma que ella señalaba a una muchacha, y que Rodolfo se había venido con ella mientras ellos detenían a la gente de su familia, que con voces la querían defender, y que otro día les había dicho Rodolfo que la había llevado a su casa, y sólo esto era lo que podían responder a lo que les preguntaban.* La confesión destos dos fue echar la llave a todas las dudas que en tal caso le podían ofrecer [. . .] " (2.90; my emphasis). Various doubts arise, the first being the fact that the narrator conflates Estefanía's discourse with that of the witnesses, thus making it difficult to ascertain where her imploring ends and where the witnesses' testimony begins (see highlighted text). Second, we see here Estefanía "creyendo, sin duda alguna" that these two men formed part of the group of three reported by Leocadia that accompanied Rodolfo on the night of the rape. Not only does the narrator never corroborate that "fact," but also there exists another discepancy on this point, as the reader knows that Rodolfo was accompanied by "cuatro amigos suyos" the night of the rape, (2.77). Thus, whether these are the same friends that accompanied Rodolfo on that fateful night seven years could be subject to doubt owing to the text's conflicting accountss of the number of participants. And, might Rodolfo's cohorts have difficulties in determining one rape from

another, given that Rodolfo's ill behavior appears to have been habitual?: "la sangre ilustre, la riqueza, la inclianción torcida, la libertad demasiada y las compañías libres, *le hacían hacer cosas y tener atrevimientos que desdecían de su calidad y le daban renombre de atrevido*" (2.77; my emphasis). Is their "confession"—which we do not hear directly—not more like a coerced agreement to the events spelled out to them by Estefanía? Not at all surprising, this "confirmation" of the rape hardly constitutes solid evidence.

10. Full discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of this paper. The idea that Cervantes would try in some way to "trick" his reader in the midst of recognition is grounded in theories set forth by neo-Aristotelians, such as Castelvetro and Robortello. Renaissance commentators seized on Aristotle's discussion (*Poetics* 16 and 24) of *paralogism* (logical fallacy or *falso sillogismo*, as Castelvetro states it) as representing a highly ingenious "type" of recognition. The commentators read Aristotle as saying that the false inference is made not only by the character, but also by the reader or spectator who accepts such false logic as convincing. Castelvetro, referring to *Poetics* 16, describes "un'altra spezie di riconoscenza [recognition], la quale si fa per falso sillogismo, e questo falso sillogismo è dalla parte del riconoscente e del popolo commune, e non dalla parte di collui che dee essere riconosciuto né dalla parte delle persone molto avedute" (2.472). Thus, Castelvetro sees two "victims" of false inference, the character/recognizer and the reader/spectator. However, this gulible reader is of the "popolo commune," the common, uneducated people. These commoners are clearly set into opposition to the "persone molto avedute," the "very informed" or literarily savy reader or spectator. The first group, not versed in the subtleties of Aristotelian theory, is easily fooled, while the well-read "persone avedute," knowing what to look for, can catch the poet's subtle transgression of logic. Based on this, the counterpart to the astute Renaissance reader is now the crafty author, who can devise ways to "fool" unsuspecting readers into believing the appearance of logic where none actually exists. Thus, Piccolomini sees authors "playing on the credulity of the spectators, their susceptibility to false logic" (Cave 76). Robortello notes that *paralogism* is something discerned "by only a very few, by experts" (Cave 77). Finally, Cave observes that "[a]lthough the case here is a special one (it only applies sometimes in certain stories), it is also a kind of paradigm. It requires extreme skill (*artificium*) on the part of the poet to bring about the denouement by means of a confidence trick which deceives not only characters but also spectators: the recognition depends on the spectators' *in*ability to recognize the deceit, an irony only fully apparent to a few initiates" (Cave 77). None of this can be mechanically related to

Cervantes' text, yet one can see that the general concept of "tricking" the reader by configuring recognition in a certain way was not unheard of.

11. Américo Castro was the first to describe Cervantes's fiction as a world in which the author, "en lugar del *es* admitido e inapelable, se lanzó a organizar una visión de *su mundo* fundada en *pareceres*, en circunstancias *de vida*, no de unívocas objetividades," in *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (85).

12. Sieber's edition of the text, that which I have been and will continue to cite, does not contain the verb "ver" here in this spot where it might seem warranted. Upon cross-checking with Valbuena Prat's edition of the *Obras completas* (895), one finds the presence of the verb "ver." For purposes of clarification, I have added "ver" to my citation from Sieber.

13. Ciavarelli describes the "force of blood" specifically as a feeling, a "presentimiento de estar en la presencia de un consanguíneo," 1. We are never informed that Cervantes' characters experience such a reaction. In contrast, a good example of this motif is found in a book well-known by Cervantes, *La Historia etiópica* by Heliodoro. In Fernando de Mena's translation of that work (1587) the recognition between Chariklea and her parents begins as a "blood" attraction: Upon making eye contact with Chariklea, Queen Persina "*sintió en sí un cierto movimiento* que le hizo . . . decir al Rey: —¡Oh marido, qué doncella escogistes para el sacrificio . . . Si la hija que yo de vos una vez parí y que tan desdichadamente fué perdida, aconteciera que fuera viva, halláramos que tenía tantos años como aquésta;" and King Hydaspes states, "también en alguna manera *se me mueve el ánimo a tener compasión desta doncella. . . .*" (380–81, my emphasis).

14. See Carroll B. Johnson (145–47) on the role of the *cura* in the process of recognition in the Captain's story.

15. For discussion of cunning female characters in this tale see Slaniceanu, Welles, and Kartchner.

16. Again, "Rodolfo se fue [a Italia] con tan poca memoria de lo que con Leocadia le había sucedido como si nunca hubiera pasado" (2.85).

17. See Price (1989) and Mayer (2005) for discussion of recognition-related interpretative problems in various *Novelas ejemplares*.

18. Cave (1988) has written the most comprehensive treatment of recognition.

19. The last sentence of "El celoso extremeño" self-consumes as the narrator first confesses to "not know" why Leonora behaved as she did, only to then contradict himself by offering an explanation for her behavior: "*Sólo no se qué fue la causa* en que Leonora no puso más ahínco en desculparse y dar a entender a su celoso marido cuán limpia y sin ofensa había quedado

en aquel suceso *pero la turbación le ató la lengua, y la priesa que se dio a morir su marido no dio lugar a su disculpa*" (*Novelas ejemplares* 2.135; my emphasis).

20. Kartchner's is the most thorough examination of Leocadia's character, although Forcione, Slaniceanu, and Welles had previously broached the topic.

21. I must disagree with the eminent Hispanist Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce when he observes, "[c]reo que es evidente el desinterés de Cervantes por la caracterización de sus personajes en la fuerza de la sangre" (II, 28). Georges Hainsworth, most disappointed with Cervantes' "inconsistent characterization," observes: "Leocadia [. . .] qui a juré de haïr à jamais l'auteur de son déshonneur, ne trahit que des sentiments de joie quand, finalement, elle peut l'épouser... En un mot, nous ne connaissons pas dans l'oeuvre cervantesque un plus frappant exemple de mauvais gout," cited in Forcione (362).

22. The fact that Leocadia faints at three crucial junctures during this tale has aroused the suspicions of some readers (for example, Kartchner 546). Nowhere does the text indicate that Leocadia's fainting spells are feigned. However, Leocadia herself at one point remarks to Rodolfo that if she were to submit to his amorous advances, then he might think that her swoon was feigned when he first kidnapped and raped her: "podrías imaginar que mi desmayo fue fingido cuando te atreviste a destruirme" (2.81). That is, Leocadia does not admit to feigning a swoon, yet her comment nonetheless reveals that such a practice is within her character's realm of knowledge, that somewhere, somehow, this or some other character in this particular fictional world just might resort to such a strategem. Beyond the "desmayo fingido" comment, we know that Leocadia is very cunning, as seen in the crucifix scheme, another scheme proposed to her father when she arrives at home, and still another when she inadvertently reveals that she could, if she wanted to, remember her attacker's identity by remembering his voice (2.80–81).

23. Castro refers to Cervantes' "estilo elusivo" in *Hacia Cervantes* (300-01).

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La Leyenda Negra in British and American Children's Literature: 1583 to the Present

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It has now been more than 400 years since the Spanish Golden Age novelist and satirist Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas first commented on the anti-Hispanic phenomenon that came to be known as La Leyenda Negra, the Black Legend, in his treatise *España Defendida.* While a significant amount of literary, historical, and cultural research has been completed by scholars both in Spain and abroad regarding the origins and evolution of La Leyenda Negra, little, if any, research has focused on the propagation of the legend in children's literature, particularly in the literature produced for British and American children. Karen Sánchez-Eppler notes the link between "the processes of national formation" and children's literature, remarking that "the nineteenth century motivated the production of a veritable sea of cheap moral tracts for children" whose rhetoric "explicitly articulate the felt similitudes between the national projects of raising good, white, middle-class, Christian, American children and that of raising an economic and cultural American empire" (399). The challenge in applying such a statement to depictions of Spain, Spaniards, and the Spanish New World in British and American children's literature is heightened by the knowledge that anyone truly familiar with Spain possesses: the Spanish can raise "good, white, middle-class, Christian" children as well as any of its European counterparts. A brief examination of the origins of La Leyenda Negra will serve to illustrate how English-language children's literature that deals with the Hispanic world problematizes the Spanish reality (intentionally or not) through xenophobic, religiously bigoted, and ethnically prejudiced representations.[1]

In respect to books that deal with history in one form or another, there is an "assumption that children are an identifiable group that requires a particular kind of text written for it by a superior group"

(Reimer 111). Taking this into account, one would have to wonder how these authors imagined that their child readers would respond to such information. While the academic field of mass media and culture has rarely intersected with children's literature theory with the exception of film adaptation studies, I would propose looking at two competing media effect models in respect to the author's intent in writing historical children's literature, especially those which have colonizing aspirations. The first is the hypodermic-needle model that first surfaced in wake of the dissemination of political propaganda via film and radio in the early twentieth century. This model "suggests that media shoot their potent effects directly into unsuspecting victims" (Campbell 516). On the other hand, this paradigm has been discredited by the minimal-effects model which argues that "we selectively expose ourselves to media messages that are most familiar to us, and we retain messages that confirm values and attitudes we already hold" (Campbell 517). One could argue that the most virulently anti-Hispanic and anti-Catholic of authors believed in a hypodermic-needle effect which would allow them to inculcate their biased beliefs on impressionable Protestant youth. On the other hand, one could argue that the minimal-effects model more accurately explains the success of such literature since it plays to people's worst fears and exploits them by repeating familiar motifs and ideas.

While these two mass media theories are helpful, they are limited in scope. Nonetheless, it would be wise to keep them in mind, as well as various other post-colonial theories referenced in this work, while reading over the descriptions of books discussed in this article.

I have grouped the books used in this examination into five sections that demonstrate the evolution of this assembly of literature—all of which, whether unconsciously or not, are direct descendants of the earliest incarnations of the Black Legend in English-language children's literature. The first section, "La Leyenda Negra and Its Early Manifestations," briefly details the origin of the legend and how it revealed itself in the English consciousness and in children's literature from the 1500s to the 1800s. The following section, "Motifs of the Ethnic Other in Southern Spain," chronicles the rise of the "typical" Spaniard in children's literature: a dark and indolent ethnic Other from the southern region of the country who possesses Moorish blood. The subsequent section, "The Spanish New World," chronicles how by the early 1900s Spaniards began to be depicted in a

more honest light only in order to satisfy a racist agenda that equated the white Spaniards as superior to the natives of the Spanish New World much like Anglo-Americans were deemed superior to Native Americans. The fourth section entitled "A New Spain?" discusses how Spain and Spaniards began to be depicted during Spain's Franco years: better, but not entirely. The final section, "Spain in the 21st Century," optimistically examines two books published in 2003 and 2004, respectively, which deal directly with Spain and Spaniards in a refreshingly frank and honest manner.

La Leyenda Negra and Its Early Manifestations

La Leyenda Negra can be defined as the systematic denigration of "the character and achievements of the Spanish people" (Maltby 3). The tail end of the fifteenth century offered Spain a string of unparalleled achievements: the unification of Aragon and Castile and Leon with the marriage of the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, Christopher Columbus' discovery and conquest of the New World, the expulsion of the Moors from southern Spain in 1492, and the publication of Antonio Nebrija's *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, the first grammar book to be compiled in any modern European vernacular. With these feats in hand, Spain's supremacy grew to unprecedented levels in the sixteenth century at the same time that nascent nationalism was becoming a powerful trend throughout Europe. With Spain controlling the New World and portions of both the Low Countries and Italy, and standing as the flagship of Christian military might with the defeat of the Ottomans in the 1571 Battle of Lepanto, other European countries looked on with envy and awe.

Much to the detriment of Spain, the nation's rise to power also coincided with the expansion of the movable printing press and the exponential growth of Protestantism. Although Spain's King Philip II was arguably the most powerful man in the Western World during Queen Elizabeth's coronation, anti-Spanish sentiment in England can be traced to an earlier sovereign: Catherine of Aragon. As the youngest surviving child of the Spanish Catholic monarchs, her failed marriage to England's King Henry VIII led to the severing of English ties to the Catholic Church. Throughout Henry's reign and many divorces, anti-Catholic sentiment began to proliferate in England; thus, while Italy and the Pope may have been the most obvious targets, Spain and its growing fortunes became equally prevalent foils. As a result, the

Black Legend became a favorite subject for Protestant states which "orchestrated a virulent propaganda campaign, in which Philip was portrayed as a ruthless tyrant bent on world domination and Spain was caricatured as a hotbed of fanaticism, obscurantism, and unparalleled cruelty" (Barton 118). After the death of England's Catholic Queen Mary in 1558 and the ascension of the ambiguously Protestant Queen Elizabeth I, anti-Catholic sentiment began to disseminate from the island nation in both a more vitriolic and uninhibited fashion. In effect, Spain was fast becoming the first target of a new mass media—even if the phrase was invented centuries later.

Apart from the imaginative yarn that many of these propagandists engendered with the help of their own imagination, Spain itself produced much of the material that Protestant nations used to levy against the Spanish. Unlike the lack of toleration for even the most constructive of internal criticism in Elizabethan and Stuart England, "freedom of speech was a cherished Spanish prerogative during the Golden Age, and it was not suffered to lapse through disuse" (Maltby 12). The most infamous example of Spanish self-criticisms is the priest Bartolomé de Las Casas's 1551 text *Brevissima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* which bemoans the cruel tactics that Spaniards used to subdue the native population of the New World and criticizes the encomienda system which often led to the enslavement and abuse of natives.[2] While Casas's critiques of the Spanish Crown resulted in some positive reforms, the published English translation of the text in 1583 clogged London bookstalls and served only to reinforce the acrimonious relationship between the two nations. King Philip II's determination to avoid entering the propaganda war resulted in a "highly negative and one-sided view" of Spain "peddled by the king's enemies" which "persisted in many historiographical accounts until relatively recently" (Barton 18).

As Benjamin Harris writes in the 1679 preface of *The Protestant Tutor* to all "Protestant Parents, School-Masters and School-Mistresses of Children," (A5) the main aim of the plethora of explicitly anti-Catholic children's literature in both Britain and the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was "to arm our Innocent Children against the cursed and continual Practices of our Romish Adversaries, who designed not only the Murder and destruction of the bodies, but the ruin and damnation of the souls of our poor Children also" (Harris A5). Although *The Protestant Tutor*'s main utilitarian purpose was to

aid children in their learning of the English language, these sections come after lengthy diatribes against Catholic countries and nationalist Protestant discourses about the "purity" of the English nation.

The dissemination of anti-Catholic tracts and tales of King Philip II being Queen Elizabeth's "most Bitter and Inveterat Enemey" (Harris 57) are even passed down in rhyme form: "She made the Anti-Christian Kingdom quake, / She made the Mighty Power of Spain to shake [. . .] "(Harris 116). Harris' language always depicts a strict black and white dichotomy between England and Spain. Rare is any positive comparison between the two nations despite their obvious demographic, religious, and political similarities. As in most instances of anti-Catholic propaganda, Catholics are likened to heathen Jews or Muslims in *The Protestant Tutor* despite their inclusion in the ecumenical sphere of Christian belief.

In comparison, *The Castilian Martyrs: A Narrative of the Conversion and Martyrdom of two Spanish Maidens and their Brother, who were Burned at the Stake in the Sixteenth Century*, which was published anonymously sometime between 1857 and 1868 in New York by the Sunday-School Union, engages in a less violent, if nonetheless equally explicit attack, on Spanish Catholicism. The trans-Atlantic journey of this book's publication mirrors not only the passing down of English colonial ideas but the international dissemination of the Black Legend, especially in light of Spain's varied New World and Pacific territories.

While England's demonization of Spain is neither a colonial nor a racial power struggle in the strictest sense, the rivalry between the two is ongoing because of their geographic proximity and, in colonial times, their powerful commercial conflicts. This history of Anglo-Hispanic relations lends weight to placing such a study within the framework of postcolonialism by employing Roderick McGillis's definition of the subject "as an activity of mind [. . .] quite simply intent on both acknowledging the history of oppression and liberating the study of literature from traditional and Eurocentric ways of seeing" (xxii). Since England has attempted to ostracize Spain from the European community at large (despite their insistence throughout the years that the United Kingdom itself is distinct and sometimes superior to "the Continent" of Europe) it can be argued that a postcolonial approach to the xenophobic, and religious and ethnic othering of the Spanish is well supported. Furthermore, believing that "virtually all (English-language)

histories of children's literature agree that children's books, always fundamentally involved in reflecting and transmitting culture, were the witting or unwitting agents of the empire-builders," (Hunt and Sands 40) places more importance on the examination of these English-language texts written for children in light of the continual study of the widespread effects of the Black Legend.

For instance, the publication of *The Castilian Martyrs* in the United States brings to light the anti-Catholicism that was prevalent in the U.S. because of both inherited English tradition as well as domestic immigration concerns. Furthermore, it mirrors "the global rise of the Anglo-Saxon/Protestant hegemony" which sought to transform the Spanish language into "a subaltern group or 'minority'" much like Portuguese and Italian were being depicted as subaltern languages "within imperial conflicts and the building of new linguistic and cultural hegemonies" (Cervantes-Rodríguez 525).

Although published in the mid nineteenth-century, *The Castilian Martyrs* is set in sixteenth-century Spain. The protagonist, Mercedes, is one of three children to an affluent nobleman in Seville. The mother of the children has died before the story takes place and the father is criticized for being indulgent. This fatherly indulgence can be seen to represent the negative extravagance of the patriarchal Catholic Church from a Protestant viewpoint: its luxuriously-dressed priests, its ornate churches, its sumptuous rituals, and the baroque nature of Mass. The narrator explains that the indulgence of her father and the Popish Church do not satisfy Mercedes; she arises "wearied and unrefreshed" from the "vain devotion" of Catholic prayer (*Castilian* 15). These daily prayers to the Virgin Mary and the Saints are contrasted to a Jesus Christ-centric "humble meditation and reliance on a dying and a risen Saviour" which leads "to the diligent performance of daily duties" (*Castilian* 19). The emphasis on employment is reminiscent of the much-lauded Protestant work ethic and stands in contrast to the depiction of Spaniards as "indolent, poor, and jealous" (2) which appears in Mrs. Jamieson's 1820 *Stories from Spanish History, for the Amusement of Children*, which was also originally published in England.

Likewise, it is interesting to note that Mercedes and her sister belong to a noble family and thus enjoy "advantages of education superior to those possessed by most females of that time" (*Castilian* 15). Since the protagonists of this novel convert to Protestantism, the author makes a concerted effort to demonstrate that these girls are

intelligent and exceptional, unlike the Spaniards who "know nothing, speak nothing, and do nothing" (166), as described in the anonymously-written 1868 text *True Stories; or, Pictures from the History of Spain*. Mercedes later finds solace from her "vain" devotion to saints when she is clandestinely instructed by Pedro, an elderly vine-dresser, about the ways of the Protestant faith. Mercedes in turn instructs her younger sister. The siblings' nascent Protestant faith is soon discovered by the family's priest, Father Ignacio, who has already punished Pedro by having him burned at an Inquisition-imposed *auto da fe*.

The ominous tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition "seated in a semicircle behind the table, and completely secured from recognition by the black drapery which enshrouded them" is the setting for the next time the siblings meet before being burned at the stake (*Castilian* 106). This exemplifies how the Spanish Inquisition plays as large a role in the propagation of the Black Legend as the Spaniards' cruel treatment of the New World natives. For example, John Foxe's 1583 *Fox's Book of Martyrs*, arguably the second most popular book after the Bible in Protestant households, already served as the formal introduction to tales of the Spanish Inquisition for many English men. The book describes an *auto da fe* in Madrid where 21 prisoners are burned at the stake and 50 Jews are sentenced to a "long confinement" (Foxe 167). Likewise, in the anonymous 1891 book *The Spanish Brothers: A Tale of the Sixteenth Century*, the author details an *auto da fe* procession and mentions a group "altogether of more than eighty in number," that is followed by a list of about 20 assorted characters including noble men and women, doctors, students, and artisans (301). The book creates the impression that these daily burnings would include up to about 100 victims a day. The incongruity of such statements when compared to the reality of the Inquisition demonstrates the success of La Leyenda Negra and the firm conviction that English Protestants and, later, most of the Western-influenced world held (holds) regarding the severity of the Spanish Inquisition.

In fact, according to recent historical research on the Spanish Inquisition, "the numbers killed or tortured by the Church may be far fewer than initially thought" (Dunk 63). Despite the ubiquitous estimations that the Spanish Inquisition claimed the lives of anywhere between 30,000 and one million people, only about one percent of the 125,000 heretic trials in Spain led to execution (Dunk 63). These 1,250 executions are a far cry from 30,000, let alone one million.

This analysis does not attempt to excuse the numerous inhumane tortures and deaths of people at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. It only serves to place depictions of these events in a different light that examines the way in which the Spanish Inquisition's notoriety has been firmly ensconced in the Western imagination while other more noble feats of the Spanish culture have been allowed to fall by the wayside.

Motifs of the Ethnic Other in Southern Spain

Most of these novels share a common denominator: they tend to depict the southern part of Spain—nearly exclusively. By showcasing southern Spain, these authors aim to xenophobically problematize the ethnic character of Spaniards. This is achieved by the constant mentioning of southern Spain's Moorish and Jewish past. *The Spanish Brothers*, *The Little Spanish Dancer*, *Our Little Spanish Cousin*, *Witch Winnie in Spain*, and *Lupe Goes to School* all take place in either the cities of Seville or Granada or the Sierra Morena region—all located in the most southern part of Spain. The exotic element of these novels is highlighted with scenes that take place in the Moorish Alhambra and Seville's ominously-named "Street of the Serpents" or with photographs and artistic renderings of the Oriental architecture of Toledo's Puerto del Sol. Although these colorful locations serve as a good catalyst for a story's atmosphere, the stated goal of these books is to offer the reader a "fair" depiction of Spain and Spaniards. Therefore, by avoiding the fairer-skinned people of the Moor-free Asturian, Galician, and Basque regions and the cooler climes of Spain's mountainous regions, these authors focus solely on what makes Spain foreign and alien to other European countries, attempting to bridge the miles-wide gap that separates Spain from Morocco via the Strait of Gibraltar.

The foundations for this particular element of the Black Legend were laid with *William of Orange's Apology [or Defense] Against the Proclamation and Edict Published by the King of Spaine* in 1580. Orange writes: "I will no more wonder at that which all the worlde beleeveth, to witte, that the greatest parte of the Spanyardes, and especially those, that coounte themselves Noble men, are of the blood of the Moores and Jews" (Griffin 94). Orange's reference to the mixed-blood of Iberians is yet another manifestation of Spain's internal criticisms being absorbed by foreign detractors.

Like other European countries at the time, Spain's society followed strict racial and religious lines. Spaniards who were known to have Moorish blood certainly would not be a common sight in the circle of powerful noblemen to which Orange refers. Even those Moors and Jews who converted to Catholicism were still derided in society. It has been noted that after the Spanish Armada conflict the strain of ethnic discourse purported by Orange became common as "English Protestant polemicists began to play the Spanish 'race-card' over and over again, virtually flooding the English public sphere with an essentializing typology that marked 'the Spaniard' as cruel, duplicitous, arrogant, bestial, hypocritical, over-sexed, Antichristian, and ethnic" (Griffin 95).

Since most of the books that deal with Spain in the latter nineteenth century and throughout most of the twentieth century take the form of a travel narrative, totalizing generalizations of Spaniards tend to be the goals of such novels. In Mary Nixon-Roulet's 1906 novel *Our Little Spanish Cousin* (part of a popular foreign cousin novel series) the narrator informs the audience of various characteristics shared by all Spaniards including the "fact" that "nearly all Spanish children are named Maria, whether boys or girls, because the Spaniards are devoted to the Virgin Mary" (3) and that "Spanish children are brought up very simply, and have little excitement, though they have many pleasures" (13). The fallacies of such generalizations are obvious. When considering the fact that this novel is part of a larger genre of book series that deal with foreign travel and foreign settings like 1889's *The Knockabout Club in Spain*, 1934's *The Spanish Twins*, and 1964's *Let's Travel in Spain*, one realizes that these series are marketed and produced in a manner that implies an educative function for these books. If parents are expected to buy these books for their children in order to enhance their knowledge of the world, the fact that these books operate with stereotypes and hasty generalizations not only displays the uselessness of these books, but demonstrates their imperialist aims of influencing a new generation of English-speaking children to other the Spanish.

Our Little Spanish Cousin features the protagonist Fernando, described as having "a lean brown face" and "great black eyes" (Nixon-Roulet 89), interacting with unsavory gypsies who huddle around the Alhambra. Interestingly enough, Fernando's friend Antonio is described as being blonde-haired and blue-eyed. The narrator feels

it necessary to note with wonder that some Spaniards do have light features. While this inclusion of another, more palatably skin-colored Spaniard shows promise for a more honest portrayal of the Spanish, the author's intentions soon come to light. Antonio tells his young friend a story about Spanish princes who risked their lives by entering Moorish territory to rescue the daughters of a sultan they were in love with. The happy ending implies the creation of miscegenated offspring running through the Spanish people. This is yet another allusion to the *sangre pura* dilemma that was often discussed in Spain's own literature. Hence, the author finds it necessary to temporarily include a Spaniard with lighter, and thus more English features in order to inform the dark Fernando about his country's Moorish past. This sort of dialogue mirrors the relationship that the English nation, and in turn their American counterpart, imagined as occurring between a "superior" English people and an "inferior" Spanish people.

The Spanish New World

California and Mexico are often chosen as the settings for American texts of the early twentieth-century that deal with Spain. It is within this removed, historical setting that authors reared with La Leyenda Negra begin to depict Spaniards as unquestionably white and European. However, this is done only in order to fulfill implied racist agendas.

In fact, the protagonist of *Tomás and the Red Headed Angel*, Angelita Marenga, not only offers an honest depiction of Spaniards from the Galician region who tend to have Celtic roots (thus the copper-colored hair), but stands as a Spanish-speaking counterpart to the daughters of wealthy American families who interact with the native populations of the New World. So, while the Spaniards' ethnic and racial character was once questioned, these authors use unquestionably white Hispanic characters in order to reassert a more familiar racist attitude, with Spanish-Americans playing the role of the newest white imperialists.

For example, Esther Brann, author and illustrator for *Lupe Goes to School*, depicts the light-skinned Lupe with a sleek bob haircut reminiscent of American women in the late 1920s. These physical descriptions are essential in order to contrast Lupe with a doll she finds at a Cortéz exhibit within the Castilleja's museum. A miniaturized version of a native, or perhaps mestizo, Mexican woman is standing under a glass display case. The narrator describes it as

a "brown-skinned [. . .] squaw-doll" (Brann 21). Lupe presses her nose against the glass and exclaims "Perhaps Papá will buy one for me!" as she silently studies the "tiny ears, and gold bracelets on the brown arms" (Brann 21). Lupe's intense scrutiny of the doll, and the context of its location, a museum on Cortéz's conquering of Mexico, reminds one of how the doll that Lupe interprets as being a "toy" serves as "the physical embodiment of the fiction: it is a device for fantasy, a point of beginning for narrative" (Stewart 56). If Lupe's father were to purchase such a toy for her, much like a wealthy slave-owning family would purchase a young caretaker/nanny for their daughter, it is easy to imagine what Lupe's narrative would entail: a dark-skinned woman roaming the countryside of colonial Mexico in search of food and water in order to feed her family, and more importantly, fulfill her duties in the Spanish colonies' *encomienda* system. Hence, without having Lupe travel to Mexico, Brann finds a way to imply Lupe and her nation's superiority to the native populations of the New World. So, the Spanish have now gained footing with the British conquerors of the Americas, albeit roughly 400 years later and only in order to fulfill an implicit and generalized racist agenda. More interesting to ponder is what this might entail in respect to Anglo-American opinions about dark-skinned Hispanics in both Spanish-speaking American nations and in the United States.

A New Spain?

While Spanish characters and Spanish history began to be perceived through a more honest light, showcases of stereotypical aspects of Spanish life were more difficult to remove throughout the twentieth century.

In Maud Hart Lovelace's 1942 novel *Betsy and Tacy Go Over the Big Hill*, Spaniards are depicted as amiable and desirable. Nine-year old Betsy observes her father reading the newspaper and learns about the upcoming coronation of King Alphonso XIII of Spain. Betsy becomes enamored of the young royal and soon informs her friends Tacy and Tib about her new crush. The three girls form a secret "K.O.S." (King of Spain) club, wear shawls and mantillas like the great ladies of Spain, and decorate their dresses with red and yellow rosettes to match the red and yellow flowers that strewn the streets of Madrid in preparation of the coronation.

The girls soon find out that they cannot marry the king because they are commoners and have no royal blood. Their love knows no bounds, however, and so they decide to write him a letter. One of the girls remarks, "He ought to know there are such people as us, and that we have a lodge and wear his colors and pin his pictures to our underwaists" (Lovelace 42). This sexually suggestive statement bodes well for a depiction of Spaniards who are not only attractive, but sexually desirable. Such a depiction stands in sharp contrast to past visions of Spaniards.

On the other hand, twenty years later, Napoleon's claim that Europe ended at the Pyrenees Mountains is reiterated by the editor of *Let's Travel in Spain*. Geis's othering discourse continues in her narrative introduction to the country: "The sun beats down mercilessly on a country that, in a large part, is closer akin to Africa than to its own continent" (9). Geis, like so many others before her, asserts that Spain has been isolated from "mainstream" Europe despite all historical evidence to the contrary. *Luckily*, Geis informs readers, Spaniards still remember "their country's past greatness" (9). Additionally, in one quick paragraph Geis briefly mentions Spain's Golden Age, the hundred years or so when it was the undisputed superpower of the Western World, only to emphasize the country's decline and stagnation.

Similarly, while Geis stereotypes Spaniards as "proud people," she lauds the country's *caballeros* for their ideals of "valor and chivalry" as a reflection of their country's past greatness. Further on in the introduction, Geis acknowledges Spain's various regions and their distinctive cultural attributes. A brief look at Geis's description of these regional characteristics showcases both her xenophobia and the never-ending taint of the Black Legend: the people of Galicia, the "Irish" corner of Spain, are described as "sensual, melancholic, poetic, *superstitious*, and shrewd"; the people of Asturias are described as "frequently tall, blond and blue-eyed, and among the handsomest in the country, *though not typically Spanish looking*"; the people of the Basque region demonstrate a "sturdy toughness [. . .] quite unlike anything else in Spain"; the people of Leon and Castile are typically "stern," "austere," and "unbending," yet they are "so overwhelmingly courteous that the *harsh character* is softened"; the people of Aragon "still have a fighting determination to protect their liberty, their faith and their *pride*"; and most notably Andalucia and Extremadura are

where readers must go "[f]or the *dark*, flashing-eyed Spaniard of the *fiery* temperament" (13). (My emphasis).

Geis's regional stereotypes are strict, unyielding, and repressive. Whether in Europe or the Americas, nearly every country has their own regional characteristics and charms. Charming and characteristic, however, is what they are. Here, Geis takes these regional variations and casts a negative light on nearly every possible Spaniard—leaving little room for child readers to imagine a Spaniard that does not possess a defect.

On the other hand, in Martha Bacon's 1971 novel *The Third Road* three home-schooled Californian siblings, Berkeley, Roxana, and Caspar Craven, are transported to seventeenth-century Spain by a magical unicorn that travels a "third road" inhabited by chimeras and gryphons. In light of Tess Cosslett's study of time-slip narratives and national identity in children's literature it is interesting to ponder how *The Third Road* matches its peers in its "openness to 'other' histories" and how "it critiques empty reconstructions of the past" (244). For example, even before the three siblings enter the time warp, the submissiveness of New World Hispanics is portrayed by the grandmother's Mexican gardener, Esteban, and his wife, Conchita, a wardrobe mistress for the play the grandmother will be acting in. Their subservient roles are contrasted to that of the grandmother who has a starring role in the play "El Camino Real" which depicts missionary life in colonial California. Thus, the grandmother has assumed the colonial powers of the original white Spanish colonizers and has Mexican immigrants, presumably mestizo, on her payroll.

This affinity with Spanish colonizers continues when Fox wishes to meet a real princess and the unicorn transports the three children to a Spanish royal court in 1660. The children meet Margarita Teresa of Hapsburg, the Infanta of Spain. The princess is accompanied by her dwarf servant, Maria-Barbola, and her pet spaniel, Guapo, just as they are immortalized in Diego Velasquez's watershed painting "Las Meninas." The verbal exchange between the children and the Infanta and her servant are humorous. The children inform the pair that in 1970 Spain no longer has any colonies in the New World and that there is no king in Spain (General Franco was still in power in 1970). The princess is in disbelief and the servant yells "treason!" at the idea of their being no king in Spain. Fox becomes nervous because of this yell, especially since a cardinal has entered the scene and she fears

that he might "cry for the Grand Inquisitor" (Bacon 42). Fearing that she might experience the horrors she has heard about the Spanish Inquisition (perhaps from some children's literature), Fox informs the Spaniards that where she comes from "they don't burn witches or heretics" (Bacon 42). The author does not find it necessary to mention the Salem Witch Trials or any of the other government-sanctioned executions of religious and political outcasts that have occurred in the United States.

Later on in the novel, the siblings travel with a 16-year-old cardinal from the seventeenth-century Spanish royal court, José, through the mountains of Mexico. They encounter a native who holds a golden object in the shape of a mounted serpent encrusted with jewels. The boy claims that it is an artifact from Montezuma's reign. José, ever the greedy colonizer, grabs the object from the boy, informs him that his gods are dead, and asks him "Am I not the white god on the four-footed beast who should bring down the plumed serpent? Am I not what the priests foretold?" (Bacon 112). The terrified native agrees, warns the Spaniard that he will be cursed for possessing the stolen object, and runs away. The depiction of such an encounter is once again, historically accurate, but nevertheless presented as representative of Spanish culture. Thus, the "empty reconstructions of the past" that are critiqued in this book are not those created by the children's home nation, but one that is imagined as being articulated by Spaniards who wish to avoid any mentions of the Spanish Inquisition and their actions in the New World. Of course, the successful propagation of the Black Legend renders any such inaccurate historical revisions incapable of ever occurring.

Spain in the 21st Century

While books such as *Betsy and Tacy Go Over the Big Hill*, *The Third Road*, and *The Story of Ferdinand* began depicting Spain and Spaniards in a new light, the wave of liberal advances in the latter half of the twentieth century not only supported post-colonial studies and influenced the accurate writings of texts that dealt with foreign people and places, it also served as an impetus for the nascent era of global consciousness in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. Evidence of such improvements in relation to the evolving depictions of Spain and Spaniards in children's literature is found in the artist Anno Mitsumasa's 2003 wordless text *Anno's Spain* and in Carol Weston's

2004 *With Love From Spain, Melanie Martin*. The fact that both of these books are parts of a series that deal with foreign locales in an honest manner exemplifies how they are representative of this new global consciousness.

Anno's Spain is laid out in a double truck format in which two adjoining pages form one large picture. Mitsumasa chooses one location and creatively melds together different people, events, and styles from various time periods into one unified locale that the eye can wander through. For example, one of the first illustrations depicts a seaside village that contains one of Columbus' famed ships anchored in the distance, a group of young boys playing *fútbol*, a dozen fishermen working on their boats and fishing nets, a troupe of marauding soldiers from the Crusades, a Gothic cathedral with soaring buttresses, and a colorful, fluid Gaudí-like building in the foreground. This landscape spans some 1,000 years of Spanish history.

In a similar enlightened fashion, the narrator of *With Love From Spain, Melanie Martin* is a learned and cultured 11-year-old American girl, Melanie Martin. This book harks back to the novel's epistolary roots with its diary format as Melanie writes about her daily adventures in a journal especially-bought for her family vacation in Spain. Readers are informed that Melanie is familiar with the Spanish language because of the Spanish class she takes at school. Additionally, the unique phonetic pronunciation guides to Spanish words that she devises in her daily entries encourage readers to broaden their foreign language skills. Likewise, connections between the Spanish world and the United States are constantly made when Melanie informs the reader of words that mean the same thing in both English and Spanish such as "piano," "patio," and "radio," and that at one time Spain not only owned Mexico and much of South America, but parts of the United States as well. Furthermore, Melanie explains that people from different regions in Spain have different accents much like a Bostonian will speak differently from a Texan in the United States. To boot, the readers of this book are informed that the castles that Walt Disney drew inspiration from for their favorite Disney films are in Spain.

However, Weston's novel is no whitewashed ode to Spain and its culture. After visiting the cathedral in Segovia where Queen Isabella was crowned, Melanie explains that "the really evil thing" about the queen was that "if you weren't Catholic, she kicked you out of Spain—or had you killed. Zero tolerance. Hundreds of thousands of

Jews had to leave Spain in 1492. Muslims too" (Weston 172). Unlike other novels that offer only a one-sided view to most of Spain's history, Weston then matches Queen Isabella's negatives with a positive: her sponsorship of Columbus's expedition to the Americas. Additionally, unlike other novels that focus on Spain's past, Weston even mentions how the festival of *fallas*, paper-maché giants, in Valencia involves Spaniards creating *fallas* that criticize political leaders of both Spain and the United States. This candid allusion to the rift that has occurred between Spain's newly-elected socialist leader José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and President Bush is remarkabl*e for the sophisticated way it approaches adolescent readers.*

The disparity between this novel and older xenophobic ones are found throughout the book. In contrast to 1906's *Our Little Spanish Cousin* where an American tourist in Spain proclaims that Fernando's exaggeratedly long complete name, Fernando Antonio Maria Allegria Francisco Ruy Guzman y Ximenez, should "topple" him "over" (Nixon-Roulet 5), Melanie celebrates the fact that "in Spain women keep their names when they get married, and kids use both their parents' names" (Weston 101).

Through this examination of these representative texts spanning roughly more than 421 years, from Foxe's 1583 *Book of Martyrs* to Weston's 2004 *With Love From Spain, Melanie Martin*, one can trace the various manifestations of the Black Legend in English-language children's literature. What once began as a religious othering of the Catholic Spaniard morphed into an ethnic othering that problematized the racial makeup of Spain. This ethnic othering was swept aside for the most part, however, only in order to paint the dark-skinned miscegenated descendants of Spaniards in the New World as inferior to white Spaniards, and thus other white Americans. After a few other missteps along the way in the twentieth century, such as 1962's Let's *Travel in Spain*, children's books published in the early twenty-first century that deal with Spain offer a more honest portrayal of a people, who like the rest of humanity, possess both a shameful *and* proud past and negative *and* positive attributes.

Since scholars of La Leyenda Negra have already discussed the ways in which negative attributes of the Spanish culture have been employed and resurrected over time to satisfy various political and cultural goals, the stated goal and most poignant discovery of this particular literary analysis has been to shed light on the manner in which this legend has

been propagated in children's literature. By combining historical information with a close reading of these texts amassed from the inimitable Baldwin special collection, this examination of children's literature adds a new twist on studies of the Black Legend. If one believes that our outlook on the world and foreigners as adults is partly influenced by the books we read as young children and adolescents, this study demonstrates how the myths of the Black Legend which sought to tarnish the reputation of Spanish culture are programmed not only through the rhetoric of imperialist political policies and adult-oriented literature but also more subtly and effectively in literature marketed to children as objective accounts of Spain and Spaniards.

Notes

1. By employing the resources of the Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature in the Department of Special Collections at the University of Florida's George A. Smathers Libraries one can glean a fair representation of what kinds of depictions of Spain, Spaniards, and the Spanish New World have been offered to children in the United Kingdom and the United States over the past three hundred years. The collection was amassed by Dr. Ruth Baldwin in order to archive "the volumes that were loved and read by children and so ordinary that no one else collected them" (Smith 300). Out of an assortment of approximately 93,000 volumes, I was able to cull a list of nearly 100 books that deal with Spain in one prevalent way or another. By whittling down this collection into a group of 21 representative texts spanning different centuries, an adequate assessment of these Hispanic depictions can be made.

2. The *encomienda* system was set up by Spanish colonizers of the New World in a fashion that resembled the system of feudalism still existent in Europe at the time. The *encomienda* system entailed assigning natives of the New World to a Spanish family who would obtain free labor from them in exchange for Christianizing the natives (Suchlicki 17).

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Contar la historia: lo inefable en los testimonios femeninos de la represión argentina

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A partir del período posdictatorial en Argentina, luego de la caída del régimen del llamado "Proceso de Reorganización Nacional" en 1983, comienzan a surgir relatos de tipo testimonial, muchos de ellos escritos por mujeres. La proliferación de este tipo de testimonios se debe a un fenómeno complejo. Por un lado, son escritos *a posteriori* de todo proceso de investigación y precisamente, son motivados por la falta de justicia y la impunidad luego de los juicios a los represores. Por otra parte, responden a la necesidad de añadir otros elementos a la frialdad de los testimonios crudos que resultan ser un *exposé* de los hechos brutales de la represión. Estos textos otorgan una dimensión humana a la experiencia de la tortura y ponen de manifiesto los traumas vividos antes, durante y después de la detención-desaparición. Entendidos de esta manera, dichos testimonios conforman un panorama mucho más completo del significado de esta experiencia y exponen los efectos a largo plazo de una especie de tortura generalizada, la cual se extiende desde los propios cuerpos torturados hacia todo el cuerpo social. Por lo tanto, para apreciar realmente el alcance de los hechos que atestiguan, debemos estudiar las formas alternativas de estas memorias, las cuales no responden por lo general a lo que normalmente se entiende por testimonio. Aún así, una lectura profunda de un conjunto de estos relatos nos permite entender que nunca llegaremos a aprehender la totalidad de esa realidad, porque si bien para relatar lo "inefable" es necesario contar con la mayor cantidad de voces y perspectivas posibles, siempre habrá una zona que quedará vedada para aquellos que no hemos vivido el horror del que se habla.

Para analizar esta temática, me concentraré en cuatro textos de corte testimonial en los cuales las autoras no sólo atestiguan esa realidad subterránea que se daba paralelamente a la ficcionalización

del discurso oficial, sino que además ponen de manifiesto las dificultades de volcar dichos testimonios en la escritura. El primer texto es la novela de Alicia Partnoy *The Little School: Tales of Disappearance and Survival in Argentina*, la cual fue escrita en castellano, pero la autora sólo pudo publicarla en inglés en 1986. En segundo lugar, la novela-testimonio *Pasos bajo el agua* de Alicia Kozameh, que se publica en Argentina en 1987 e inmediatamente resulta en amenazas directas a la autora, la cual debe abandonar el país. La novela *Una sola muerte numerosa* de Nora Strejilevich se publica, al igual que la de Partnoy, en Estados Unidos en el año 1997 luego de recibir el premio "Letras de Oro 1996." Por último se publica en 2001 por Sudamericana Argentina *Ese infierno: conversaciones de cinco mujeres sobrevivientes de la ESMA*, relato en el que confluyen las voces de varias sobrevivientes en un diálogo abierto, conformando una obra de autoría colectiva.

A primera vista, los inconvenientes más obvios quedan expuestos en los datos referentes a la publicación. Partnoy y Strejilevich publican sus novelas en Estados Unidos, y Partnoy, además, la publica directamente en inglés. Kozameh, cuyo atrevimiento le cuesta el exilio, publica su novela en Argentina en un período aún frágil de precaria democracia.[1] Tanto el testimonio colectivo *Ese infierno* como el relato testimonial de Strejilevich dan cuenta de la necesidad de distanciarse temporalmente de los hechos. Escribir sobre estas experiencias no es fácil, pero publicarlas es más difícil aún. Las escritoras deben hacer frente a otro inconveniente: el fantasma siempre presente de la represión, no ya durante la dictadura sino en el período de supuesta democracia, un concepto de fragilidad y alcances dudosos, sobre todo en la etapa de la transición. Por último, los límites de la escritura se vislumbran en las restricciones propias a manera de barreras internas como también del entorno (y las limitaciones de publicación lo confirman).

Coincidimos con Joy Logan cuando afirma que los estudios actuales sobre la narrativa testimonial no tienen en cuenta la importancia del testimonio en Argentina y que además, los estudios que sí tratan del tema no ahondan lo suficiente en las narraciones testimoniales de mujeres que se alejan de los géneros tradicionales (Logan 103-4). Parte del inconveniente surge de una clasificación estricta del género testimonial, lo cual conduce a un estudio parcial e incompleto del material del que se dispone, dejando de lado otros textos como entrevistas personales, testimonios ficcionalizados y diálogos colectivos.[2] En nuestra

opinión, sería bastante incoherente pretender encasillar los textos a los que aludo en este trabajo en categorías rígidas como "testimonio," "ficción," "ficcióntestimonio," "pseudotestimonio," y otras denominaciones. Estos términos pretenderían restringir la validez de estos relatos despojándolos de su valor testimonial en la medida en que estos textos cumplan con los criterios estipulados por la crítica para la definición de un testimonio, motivo por el cual prefiero denominarlas "memorias" de la represión. La incursión en la ficción, según la definición tradicional de testimonio, dejaría sin efecto el valor testimonial de cada texto, lo cual limitaría la valoración de los mismos. La proliferación de estas publicaciones durante los últimos años en Argentina, nos obliga a reevaluar nuestra forma de entender los alcances del discurso testimonial y su importancia dentro de la problemática que le sirve de referente[3]. De hecho, la ficción, cuando aparece, es utilizada como estrategia personal para tomar distancia de los eventos y no reproducirlos de manera totalmente fiel, dado que recrear la historia en el texto escrito implicaría revivirlos en su entera crudeza.[4]

Cabe notar que el deseo de escribir su historia personal, luego de haber ofrecido un testimonio "formal" ante las comisiones y los organismos de derechos humanos, obedece a ciertas necesidades. En primer lugar, como lo define Elaine Scarry, el lenguaje resulta inadecuado para narrar una experiencia traumática porque las secuelas quedan alojadas en el cuerpo y anulan la subjetividad:

> It is the intense pain that destroys a person's self and world, a destruction experienced spatially as either the contraction of the universe down to the immediate vicinity of the body or as the body swelling to fill the entire universe. Intense pain is also language-destroying: as the content of one's world disintegrates, so that which would express and project the self is robbed of its source and its subject. (35)

Por lo tanto, hablar de lo "inefable" resulta imposible y siempre el discurso deja huecos que no pueden rellenarse con palabras, como se desprende de estos textos. Así, en *Pasos bajo el agua*, Sara declara:

> Estuve haciendo serios esfuerzos por recordar algunos episodios. No hubo caso. Es como si se me instalara una sábana entre los ojos y el cerebro. La razón de la desmemoria está

> ahí: en los colores, las formas, la mayor o menor nitidez, los ritmos. La capacidad letal de los acontecimientos [. . .] Pero hay fuertes huecos irrecuperables. (52)

El trauma queda alojado no sólo en la memoria—a nivel del inconsciente—sino también en el cuerpo. De hecho, Elie Wiesel sostiene que quienes no hayan pasado por la experiencia del Holocausto, comparable en cierta manera a la experiencia argentina, jamás sabrán lo que significa haberla vivido y por otra parte, quienes sí hayan padecido algo similar, no podrán contarla realmente (Bettelheim 96). Acceder al lenguaje para narrar esta experiencia aparece como una traba más.

Por ello mismo, según sostiene Diana Taylor en *Disappearing Acts*, estos testimonios arrojan otra perspectiva más humana, más personal, que permite ampliar el relato buscando palabras para hablar de lo inefable. "I leave the writing about torture for my work with Amnesty International. I write about what happened and the people who read it go out and do something about it," expresa Partnoy en una entrevista personal concedida a Taylor (160). Los testimonios de estas autoras, por lo tanto, comienzan con un "testimonio oral," en el sentido estricto de la palabra, que es entregado a los organismos de lucha por los derechos humanos y luego, las memorias, a modo de relatos semificcionales o diálogos, complementan la información con un panorama más completo acerca de la situación, sus fundamentos y sus consecuencias psicológicas. Como explica Taylor al referirse a Partnoy: "Her purpose was to go beyond the factual limits of human rights reports in order to describe the experience of disappearance, the fears of succumbing to inhumane treatment by losing one's humanity, the tiny moments of personal triumph in a system designed to destroy personhood" (166).[5] De esta manera, en *The Little School* y los poemas de Partnoy, destaca Taylor que el lector puede acceder a otro nivel más profundo en el que se escuchan varias voces: las de los que sobrevivieron, pero además las que no pudieron vivir para contar su historia (158-63). Estas voces *se hacen oír* por medio de monólogos interiores a los que la autora no podría haber tenido acceso; sin embargo, dado que esas personas ya no están para contar su historia, el recurso utilizado como apropiación del discurso es el único posible para elaborar un testimonio más completo.

Con respecto a este punto, es importante tener en cuenta que estas "memorias" se escriben no para prestar un testimonio directo

y formal, sino que más bien obedece a una necesidad personal de darle una forma artística al trauma interno. Partnoy comenta que al llegar a Estados Unidos tiene una necesidad vital de contar su historia: lo conversa con las personas que la rodean, dicta charlas para organismos de derechos humanos y luego empieza a escribir relatos para sí misma. Es recién después de todo este proceso oral que decide publicar sus memorias (Taylor 158). Su testimonio responde a una urgencia inmediata, pero su impulso decae con la derogación de leyes de amnistía y perdón a los represores (Taylor 282). Nora Strejilevich, por su parte, comenta que fue elaborando su texto durante casi veinte años, a partir de su liberación en 1977. Su intención, sin embargo, no era publicar sus memorias, sino que surge como un ejercicio personal en un taller para escribir autobiografía cuando residía en Columbia Británica. En otras palabras, Strejilevich no escribe para denunciar, sino que su escritura responde más bien a un ejercicio de catarsis dado que, según sostiene la propia autora, es preferible elaborar los hechos literariamente en lugar de revivirlos de manera continua en la memoria.[6] Del mismo modo, las autoras de *Ese infierno* cuentan que tardaron veinte años en decidirse a hablar, y cuando finalmente lo hacen, surge su libro como resultado de diálogos grabados a lo largo de tres años y medio. Sostienen: "Quisimos hacerlo de todos modos. Tenía que quedar registro en algún lugar, además de los expedientes judiciales—donde sólo están los hechos crudos, objetivos—, de lo que pasó en la ESMA, tal vez el más maquiavélico de los proyectos represivos de la última Dictadura" (32). Alicia Kozameh en *Pasos bajo el agua* afirma en su introducción que: "estos relatos fueron escritos para que los episodios de los que me ocupo sean conocidos. [. . .] Lo sustancial de cada uno es verdadero, sucedió, lo viví yo misma o lo vivieron otras compañeras y yo lo supe, aunque he reemplazado nombres o quizá detalles que para nada cambian, de hecho, la esencia de la cosa" (7). Por consiguiente, ya sea que surja de una *urgencia* inmediata o de un ejercicio catártico, estas autoras escriben partiendo de una urgencia interna, propia, de darle una forma literaria y personal a su memoria.

Cabe cuestionarse cuáles son los efectos que persiguen la tortura y la desaparición forzada y que causan una experiencia traumática. En *La violencia del discurso*, Kathleen Newman analiza la violencia estatal en Argentina relacionada con el sistema de "género," afirmando que la creciente importancia del rol de la mujer en campos no tradi-

cionales, es decir, fuera del hogar y la familia, es lo que a partir de los años 60 produce una reafirmación agresiva de las relaciones sociales de índole patriarcal (12). Íntimamente ligado con este fenómeno se encuentra lo que la socióloga Jean Franco ha denominado el proceso de "desterritorialización" de los sujetos:

> Este exterminio sólo puede tener lugar mediante una "desterritorialización" de los Sujetos. Dentro del territorio estatal, los Sujetos son ciudadanos y tienen pleno derecho a la protección del Estado; bajo el terror estatal, los Sujetos pueden estar dentro de las fronteras nacionales pero son despojados del espacio que ocupan. Los individuos señalados "mueren" primero como ciudadanos; son desterritorializados. Luego, el Estado se arroga la facultad de asesinar a aquellos Sujetos que ya no son ciudadanos. (Newman 23)

En otras palabras, el exterminio masivo de la población se lleva a cabo por un proceso de doble apropiación del espacio vital de los sujetos. Primero, se les niega el espacio público como ciudadanos por medio de la desaparición. Luego, estos sujetos que ya están desaparecidos, por su condición de tales, posibilitan su exterminio por medio de la muerte, o su aniquilación simbólica por medios más sutiles, y que apuntan a quebrantar la subjetividad y la identidad.

En los relatos de las escritoras estudiadas en este trabajo, la historia marginal se contrapone constantemente a la versión oficial. Los diversos testimonios dan cuenta no sólo del discurso político de los represores, sino también, de los grupos de apoyo que alimentan al régimen. De hecho, Andrés Avellaneda detalla exhaustivamente los pilares del discurso represivo que se viene gestando desde aproximadamente 1960, en el que queda claro que se justifica la "desterritorialización" a la cual aluden Franco y Newman, estableciendo una dicotomía entre lo que conforma el "estilo de vida argentino" y todo lo que se le opone, definiendo un sistema de valores propios, y por ende legítimos, en el que impera lo católico/cristiano, la tradición, el orden moral, la familia y la propiedad (18–21). Avellaneda menciona que para homogeneizar al grupo social según dicho modelo "es indispensable que el Estado actúe prescriptivamente, o sea que preserve la escala de valores 'nuestros' y elimine lo ajeno que atenta contra ellos" (21). Por consiguiente, al

"desterritorializar" a un grupo e imponerle una etiqueta de otredad, queda justificado el poder represivo y la eliminación de ese territorio establecido como legítimo. Así, por ejemplo, en los testimonios de la represión son constantes los insultos y las amenazas que canalizan un odio antisemita. En *Una sola muerte numerosa* se afirma, "ser judío es ante todo ser visto como tal. Pero entonces no lo sabíamos" (37). Cuando la protagonista es secuestrada, golpeada y pisoteada por los militares, recibe como sentencia "Judía de mierda, vamos a hacer jabón con vos" (16), calco del dictamen que recibe Alicia en *The Little School*: "Okay. If you don't behave we're going to make soap out of you, understand?" (61). De igual modo Sara en *Pasos bajo el agua* relata: "Uno pintó las paredes con estrellas de cinco puntas y enormes svásticas [sic]. Y se reían, se reían" (20). [7]

Por otra parte, es necesario considerar la temática de la escritura de las memorias desde una perspectiva genérica, ya que las memorias escritas por mujeres presentan características diferentes de los testimonios masculinos, los cuales se acercan más al testimonio directo, judicial. En *Los trabajos de la memoria*, Elizabeth Jelin habla de las especificidades de género de la represión, dado que los impactos fueron diferentes en hombres y mujeres (100). La identificación con la maternidad y su lugar familiar hizo a las mujeres responsables de los "malos caminos" y desvíos de sus hijos y demás parientes (Jelin 102). Además, la represión y la tortura se convirtieron en una metáfora de poder que creó una dicotomía entre lo activo y lo pasivo, lo masculino y lo femenino, consagrado en la figura diabólica y todopoderosa de los militares contra los cuerpos indefensos de los torturados. En cuanto a las mujeres, los testimonios existentes indican que el tratamiento de éstas incluía siempre una alta dosis de violencia sexual: sus cuerpos están ligados a la identidad femenina como objeto sexual, como esposas y como madres eran claros objetos de tortura sexual (Jelin 102–3). Para los hombres, la tortura y la prisión implicaban un acto de "feminización," ya que se convertía a los hombres en seres inferiores, dependientes, pasivos, estableciendo la supremacía de la "virilidad" militar (Jelin 103). Diana Taylor en *Disappearing Bodies* propone que mediante la tortura, los represores ejercen un control sobre el tejido social. Como tal, la tortura funciona como un acto de inscripción que cumple dos funciones: por un lado, inscribe el cuerpo físico de las personas dentro de una narrativa nacionalista, pero por otra parte escribe *en* el cuerpo mismo, convirtiendo al cuerpo en un

texto que lleva un mensaje explícito a la sociedad circundante (Taylor 152). Este proceso, continúa Taylor, implica imponer su dominio con una conciencia "de género," convirtiendo al secuestrado/torturado en "pasivo," dócil, receptivo, equiparable a femenino (152–7). Por su parte, Kate Millet señala el rol de la sexualidad dentro de la represión que desestabiliza la subjetividad y la categoría de género:

> [T]he tortured come to experience not only the condition of the animal caged by man, but the predicament of woman before man as well. A thing male prisoners discover, a thing female prisoners rediscover. Torture is based upon traditional ideas of domination: patriarcal order and masculine rank. The sexual is invoked to emphasize the power of the tormenter, the vulnerability of the victim; sexuality itself is confined inside an ancient apprehension and repression: shame, sin, weakness. (34)

El discurso unívoco del poder como portavoz de un ser argentino legítimo se ve como masculino, con todas sus connotaciones de dominio patriarcal y falocéntrico, con poder absoluto sobre el ser pasivo, feminizado, representado por el cuerpo del torturado. Por consiguiente, el discurso represivo escribe el cuerpo y *en* el cuerpo de los detenidos con el fin de forjar un nuevo ser nacional que corresponda a las características delineadas por Avellaneda, el de un ser "legítimamente argentino," lo cual implica descartar—aniquilar—al "otro," a todo aquel que no cumpla con esas características. Asimismo, este proceso es una extensión de la "desterritorialización" del sujeto señalada por Franco y Newman, lo cual implica, en última instancia, una deshumanización total de la persona secuestrada y torturada.

Inevitablemente, esta forma de vivir una experiencia con diferencias a nivel genérico moldea el discurso de quien narra su historia. Jelin menciona que los varones tienden a ser más sintéticos en sus narrativas mientras que las mujeres expresan sentimientos, hacen más referencias a lo íntimo y a las relaciones personalizadas (Jelin 108). Además, "muchas mujeres narran sus recuerdos en la clave tradicional del rol de mujer, la de 'vivir para los otros.' Esto está ligado a la definición de una identidad centrada en atender y cuidar a otros cercanos, generalmente en el marco de relaciones familiares" (108). De hecho, esto queda claro en los episodios en torno a las mujeres embarazadas, la

menstruación, el acoso sexual de parte de los guardias y en los relatos centrados en la maternidad. Las autoras de *Ese infierno* reconocen explícitamente la diferencia genérica de sus memorias: "Resolvimos ser sólo mujeres en el grupo, porque, para nosotras, haber pasado por el Campo tuvo tintes especiales vinculados con el género: la desnudez, las vejaciones, el acoso sexual de los represores, nuestra relación con las compañeras embarazadas y sus hijos" (32). En este testimonio, Elisa cuenta que durante su detención clandestina se vestía con ropa suelta, se "disfrazaba" para ocultar sus rasgos femeninos, y durante los primeros diez meses no menstruaba: "Cada uno se cuidaba como podía. Yo tenía miedo de exponerme, de mostrar mi femineidad [sic]. No mi belleza: mi femineidad, la tenía oculta, no existía" (127). De igual modo, las detenidas en *The Little School* no menstrúan: "Remember that none of us are menstruating [. . .] I don't know, it's as if our bodies were protecting themselves [. . .]" (70). Además, cuando Partnoy es secuestrada está en casa con su hija de pocos meses, y en su relato, la imagen de su hija y la incertidumbre de su destino aparecen en varias oportunidades. En el caso de Kozameh, las miserias de la vida carcelaria se extienden a los bebés de las prisioneras y se vuelven más patéticas en el episodio en que se les debe preparar mate cocido hervido porque no hay leche para alimentarlos. El relato gira en torno al hambre de las criaturas y llega al colmo en el momento culminante cuando descubren, después de haberlos alimentado, que en el agua se hirvió una inmensa rata que cayó accidentalmente en la olla: "Tengo que gritar y no puedo. Inmensa. Es inmensa. Como un gato. Se cocinó. La boca entreabierta. Los chicos. ¿Irán a sobrevivir? Qué hago" (64-5). La parquedad del relato no deja claro si lo ocurrido es fruto de las condiciones insalubres en el penal o si fue provocado adrede por el personal, como un acto denigratorio o una tortura más. Dentro de este contexto, la tortura psicológica se une así a la física para *quebrar* al individuo, desterritorializarlo, inscribiendo las marcas de un trauma que permanecerá en el cuerpo social.

Por otra parte, se debe tomar en cuenta otro aspecto fundamental. Jelin destaca que los testimonios masculinos apuntan en otra dirección: se enmarcan en una expectativa de justicia y cambio político, y por ende su función testimonial está centrada en la descripción fáctica, hecha con la mayor precisión posible, de la materialidad de la tortura y la violencia política. De hecho, el testimonio judicial, ya sea de hombres o mujeres, sigue un formato preestablecido, ligado a la noción de prueba jurídica,

fáctica (Jelin 109). Mientras tanto, las memorias de las mujeres tienden a centrar los relatos en las experiencias de los otros, en sentimientos y en percepciones propias. Así, las voces de las mujeres introducen una pluralidad de puntos de vista, lo cual implica el reconocimiento y legitimación de "otras" experiencias además de las dominantes (Jelin 110). De ahí también, que la estructura dé cuenta de ello: en lugar de un testimonio directo con un discurso crudo, severo y acusatorio, las memorias escritas por mujeres se caracterizan por la fragmentación y la falta de un orden preciso, el fluir de la conciencia, los silencios y lo no dicho; pero que queda implícito. Son relatos en los que tenemos que leer entre líneas o imaginar, a menudo uniendo los diferentes elementos que están dispersos como si fueran piezas de un rompecabezas. En *The Little School*, por ejemplo, los dibujos realizados por la madre de Partnoy también contribuyen a contar la historia. La ilustración que encabeza cada relato, en el cual se distingue una mujer con una venda en los ojos, se convierte en un icono de los detenidos-desaparecidos, y que, además, funciona como metáfora de la imposibilidad de ver con claridad, la cual se extiende no sólo a los secuestrados, sino a la sociedad en general y a los lectores del libro.[8] Los relatos, por otra parte, no funcionan como capítulos de una novela ni tampoco como relatos individuales: son fragmentos de una misma historia, en los cuales los silencios también tienen un lugar especial y nos revelan ese espacio al que no tenemos acceso. Se trata de un espacio en el que, como señala Louise Detwiler, el lector lleva una venda simbólica en los ojos (69). Esa venda se refiere tanto a la imposibilidad de aprehender esa experiencia en su totalidad, como a la falta de información histórica de la sociedad en general (Detwiler 71).

En el mismo orden de ideas, la estructura de *Una sola muerte numerosa* es en sí una colección de fragmentos en los que se van contando historias, a menudo intercaladas con otros tiempos y espacios diferentes, recuerdos con un marcado fluir de la conciencia, poemas, canciones infantiles, información de periódicos o panfletos, reflexiones personales y comentarios irónicos. La parte *testimonial* se complementa con palabras de familiares, otros sobrevivientes, detenidos-desaparecidos, declaraciones citadas del *Nunca más* y los propios testimonios de Strejilevich. De hecho, Strejilevich indica que si bien su texto es autobiográfico, su objetivo era crear una "voz colectiva": por ello la recopilación de testimonios se agrega a su propia voz produciendo como resultado el "coro de una sola muerte numerosa"

(Graham 14). Estos fragmentos se intercalan con declaraciones oficiales o periodísticas de los represores que contrastan cínicamente con los hechos narrados o con la historia escrita con la sangre de los desaparecidos. Para captar la totalidad de este "testimonio de testimonios," por consiguiente, no basta con leer linealmente y absorber el texto, sino que el lector debe necesariamente unir todas las partes y rellenar los espacios vacíos.[9] Al referirse al discurso de estas memorias, Marjorie Agosín hace hincapié en la insuficiencia del lenguaje:

> A la luz de la literatura del holocausto, se observa que es casi imposible crear un discurso que vaya más allá de la inexplicabilidad del genocidio, que vaya más allá de la palabra. Sin embargo, la imagen, la fotografía de los campos de concentración como las fotografías de las madres de la Plaza Mayo [sic], van más allá del discurso hablado y escrito. (79)

Por lo tanto, es necesario suplir las carencias del lenguaje completándolo con otros recursos. En *Pasos bajo el agua*, Kozameh reproduce primero la autorización oficial, del año 1977, para conservar un cuaderno, y luego tres dibujos realizados durante su reclusión en la cárcel de Villa Devoto. El primer dibujo ilustra a una mujer sobre un catre, las manos enlazadas sobre el pecho, en una actitud pasiva, sin otra ocupación que pensar. Por su parte, en la segunda ilustración aparece un pueblito en un área rural, sin duda una expresión de deseo del espacio que le fue negado durante los años de reclusión. Finalmente, el último dibujo reviste las características de una naturaleza muerta (y la elección de este estilo no es casual) en el que aparece un jarro y una cuchara: elementos que indican las pocas posesiones de las que disponían las prisioneras y que conforman, a su vez, iconos de la protesta, ya que las reclusas los utilizaban para reclamar justicia.

La fragmentación del discurso, por otra parte, nos permite percibir secuelas inmediatas. En un primer momento, al "quebrar" al detenido despojándolo de sus derechos humanos, se lo reduce a una posición de objeto. Este efecto de deshumanización, que niega a los prisioneros sus características humanas, se extiende de por vida al mismo tiempo que se extiende al entorno. Así, en *Una sola muerte numerosa*, la protagonista alude a una conocida canción infantil y anuncia "Soy un juguete para romper. *Pisa pisuela, color de ciruela*" (16). La tonada

infantil funciona como *leitmotif* de este proceso de deshumanización al que son sometidos. Este proceso de deshumanización que reduce a los sujetos a un estadio primario, se traduce igualmente en su *animalización*, como es notorio en *Ese infierno*: "Cuando estaba sola y escuchaba que alguien se acercaba a la celda, lo que evidentemente hacían a propósito (golpeaban la puerta y gritaban), me sentía un animalito asustado" (72). Reducir a los secuestrados a este estado de suma indefensa se convierte en un ritual en el que se impone el poder, fijando las pautas en la relación torturador-torturado: "Además todo también tenía un valor simbólico, estar atado de pies y manos... Como un animal recién domado, significaba que controlaban nuestros cuerpos y movimientos aun en ausencia" (82).

De la misma manera, en *The Little School*, el marido de la protagonista mientras está siendo torturado se debate entre sentirse como un animal y el deseo de ser verdaderamente un animal: "No, please, I don't want them to come. I'm not an animal... Don't make me believe I'm an animal. But that's not my scream; that's an animal's scream. Leave my body in peace... I'm a froggy so my child can play with me... *Rib-bit rib-bit little girl on the roof... Nobody, nobody...*" (94), al mismo tiempo que se refugia en una canción infantil. La regresión a la infancia y el uso de un nivel de lengua primitivo, cercano a lo semiótico, marcan las limitaciones del discurso para describir una experiencia traumática, ya que como señala Elaine Scarry, el dolor intenso destruye no sólo al sujeto sino también al lenguaje (35). La destrucción de la subjetividad que vuelve al sujeto en un ser abyecto, animalizado, se proyecta así en las limitaciones de la expresión verbal. En *Pasos bajo el agua*, Sara recuerda un episodio de su infancia que la une a su presente:

> Con los años recordaría la frase que le cruzó la mente al oírla: *A cualquier pájaro se le separa el cráneo de la espina dorsal.* [. . .] Si aprieto mi nuca contra esta pared helada debe estar funcionando un lazo con la vida o con la muerte, con mi sentido de la existencia, con mi interpretación de lo que estoy viviendo, con lo que estoy dispuesta a ver o negar. *Un cráneo de pájaro separado de la espina dorsal (28).*

Al leer más adelante sobre el terror y el asco que le producen los "gatos" una vez que es liberada, la metáfora queda clara: ella es un pájaro acorralado, a merced de los caprichos de los felinos, entre

cuyas garras su vida pende de un hilo. La regresión a la infancia marca una vez más el proceso de deshumanización y de desterritorialización impuesto por el terror de la represión. Frente a la amenaza del espacio público y la desprotección del espacio privado, el espacio "interior" de la infancia se perfila como un oasis en medio del desierto.

Así como los protagonistas se ven reducidos a una condición de animalidad, de objetos sin valor, en los relatos se observa otra constante: la desintegración de la identidad y el extrañamiento de las características que definen a una persona como tal. En *The Little School*, son los objetos y eventos aparentemente sin importancia los que definen a una persona: las pantuflas con una sola flor se convierten en la metáfora de su propia desaparición, "The one-flowered slippers remained at the Little School, disappeared..." (28), conectando a la protagonista con su detención inicial y su posterior traslado a una cárcel para presos políticos; la forma de su nariz semítica de repente se vuelve ventajosa porque levanta la venda de los ojos y "le permite ver"; las goteras durante un día lluvioso devuelven los personajes parcialmente a la vida y les permiten lavarse gota a gota, casi como los animales. Por otra parte, en ciertos objetos se depositan valores y sentimientos. De hecho, la chaqueta de jean de su amiga "Vasca" tiene el poder mágico de protegerla contra el dolor: "Then, the magic power of the denim jacket came true: the blows almost didn't hurt. It was not the jacket's thick fabric, but Vasca's courage that protected me" (112). Para Graciela, la mesa alrededor de la cual debe dar vueltas durante el último mes de embarazo, a modo de ejercicio, es símbolo de su detención-desaparición y repositorio del odio: "Don't forgive them, my child. Don't forgive this table, either" (56), probablemente intuyendo que no saldrá de ahí con vida luego de dar a luz. También, en *Una sola muerte numerosa*, en medio de fragmentos de varias voces, la protagonista narra su experiencia después de la tortura: "Si tuviera paladar, lengua o labios, sonreiría. Mentira, no podría. Un aullido de muerte me ocupa el cuerpo. –*Sos bosta, no existís*, acota otra voz. El dolor lo abarca todo. La irrealidad del mundo se instala entre las encías y las muelas. Mas allá, nada existe" (30). En este contexto de abyección, el cuerpo que sufre, fragmentado, va escribiendo su historia.

Del mismo modo, ante los abusos frente a los cuales los detenidos se encuentran indefensos, los personajes de estos textos se disocian de la realidad o se ven fuera de ella, a veces como método de autodefensa

y otros como franco abatimiento. En *Ese infierno*, Munú menciona "Yo no sé lo que sentía, así como todavía no puedo sentir lo terrible de la tortura. Cuando digo: 'A mí me torturaron,' veo el cuerpo de una mujer, que soy yo, tirado en una cama, pero no puedo meterme en ese cuerpo y sentir el dolor; lo relato desde afuera" (98). Asimismo, cuando la protagonista en *The Little School* es "castigada" por los guardias por conversar con otra detenida, ésta activa sus mecanismos de autodefensa bloqueando los sentimientos negativos o de desesperación:

> She summoned all her defenses, blocking out any speculation about her fate. She did not indulge in self-pity. The hatred she felt for them shielded her. She waited [...] She felt as if the guards did not exist, as if they were just repulsive worms that she could erase from her mind by thinking of pleasant things. (71-2)

En lugar de describir la vejación y el sufrimiento de la tortura (desnuda bajo la lluvia), la autora no nos da detalles, sino que su relato se concentra en su método de autodefensa.

Por otra parte, los protagonistas reciben la confirmación de la desaparición de su identidad que ya no deja lugar a dudas: la pérdida del nombre propio. En *The Little School*, la protagonista afirma que la última vez que la llamaron por su nombre completo fue el día de su secuestro, luego no sabe si ella es Alicia o Rosa (por su nombre de guerra), y finalmente uno de los guardias la bautiza "Muerte": "Since that moment they called me Death. Maybe that is why every day, when I wake up, I say to myself that I, Alicia Partnoy, am still alive" (43). La pérdida del nombre que nos identifica aparece como una vejación más en *Una sola muerte numerosa*, cuando a la protagonista se le asigna un código alfanumérico que la identifica: "Me doy por vencida. Debo deponer mi nombre, como un arma. *–Te llamás K-48. Si te olvidás la sigla, olvidate de salir de acá*" (55), y a su vez marca el estado de total indefensa en el que queda relegada. La falta de identidad caracteriza a los detenidos que parecen ser sólo un cúmulo de ruidos, olores, formas: "El roce esporádico de las cadenas contra el piso es el alfabeto morse de los sin nombre" (92) y los tormentos son colectivos: "Todo es para todos, hasta los gritos de la noche. Acá lo normal es sentir que no se sube en la vida, se baja; uno se hunde más y más hasta que todo es noche" (90).

La pérdida de la identidad individual y la consiguiente nulidad de las personas que se convierten en una *masa* torturada, aniquilada, desaparecida del espacio público y privado, o como vimos anteriormente, "desterritorializada," es un tema recurrente en el testimonio de Strejilevich. El relato se inicia con un poema cuya primera estrofa reza: "Cuando me robaron el nombre / fui una fui cien fui miles / y no fui nadie" (13), tema que retoma sobre el final en otro poema: "Mi nombre enredadera se enredó / entre sílabas de muerte / DE SA PA RE CI DO / ido / nombre nunca más / mi nombre" (187). Este despojo de la identidad guarda estrecha relación con el título mismo de la obra, lo cual da cuenta del efecto colectivo de la represión militar y convierte al relato de Strejilevich en un testimonio en el cual todas las voces, aunque no hablen, se encuentran representadas.

Como corolario a la escritura que caracteriza los testimonios de la represión, es evidente que las escritoras dejan plasmada, en sus textos, una lucha de poder. Si bien se testimonia para dejar constancia de los abusos de poder, se escribe también para oponer una resistencia. El acto de ofrecer un testimonio desacraliza la historia oficial transmitida por las instituciones oponiéndole la historia marginal del grupo sobreviviente. La expresión de esta voz alternativa es en sí misma la resistencia que garantiza la pluralidad de voces, necesaria para el diálogo de la historia. Estas voces, sin embargo, no se presentan como una materialización de las "Furias griegas" que toman venganza por mano propia como almas encolerizadas, sino que desde su espacio alternativo dejan constancia de la impunidad y la falta de justicia. Si bien los genocidas no son castigados jurídicamente, al menos queda el consuelo de que se los desenmascare. Este acto de resistencia es, como se menciona en *Ese infierno*, "el triunfo frente al terrorismo de Estado, el triunfo sobre los Campos de Concentración, el triunfo de la amistad, de la solidaridad, del "nosotras, que tanto las fuerzas represivas quisieron y creyeron destruir" (308). "Decidimos recordar en conjunto," leemos en *Ese infierno*, "porque creemos que sobrevivir en ese sitio fue una empresa colectiva. El aislamiento era una herramienta que los represores usaban para hacernos sucumbir, para quebrarnos" (32). Si bien hay un propósito claro de deshumanizar y destruir a los individuos, tanto en lo personal como en sus relaciones con los demás, en estas memorias se demuestra que, a pesar de todo, los detenidos se resisten. Dicho de otra manera, mientras quede un poco de humanidad, permanece viva la esperanza. La experiencia

colectiva resuena en la forma discursiva que adquiere el testimonio. La presencia de un *yo* más o menos delimitado, que puede confundirse con un *nosotros* o diluirse en una impersonalidad retórica, sostiene René Jara, debe percibirse en su triple connotación de testigo, actor y juez (1), dado que del punto de vista del narrador la intimidad no es privada sino que le pertenece a todos (3). Así, la imagen narrativizada de la historia es una "escritura de rastros," huellas de una realidad que el testigo-narrador decodifica en cuanto a actor, mientras la revive y la actualiza (Jara 2), y de esta manera, en tanto a testigo, nos ofrece su versión de la historia que se contrapone a la historia oficial.

Por su parte, el final de *Una sola muerte numerosa* es representativo de la conclusión a la que nos lleva el estudio de estas memorias: indica un círculo que no logra cerrarse. Como señala Jara, a diferencia de la novela, en la cual suele haber un desenlace, los testimonios son la evidencia de una historia que se continúa: lo que el testimonio comunica no es sólo una evidencia del pasado, sino también, una manera diferente de vivir el presente (2–3). Al final de la novela de Strejilevich, cuando la protagonista vuelve al lugar en el que estuvo secuestrada, la obsesión del nombre vuelve a surgir, pero ahora para afirmar su identidad: "Una senda nos lleva al escenario donde suben y bajan emociones y festejos. Un micrófono pronuncia mi nombre: no mi código sino mi nombre. Y sale de ese nombre una voz que resuena a pesar mío, que se planta delante de mí dispuesta a pronunciar su propio texto" (200). Esta reafirmación personal se intercala con recuerdos del momento de su secuestro, y que concluye con un poema en cuyos últimos versos se enuncia el propósito de escribir sus memorias: "a todos nosotros / nos inyectaron vacío. / Perdimos una versión de nosotros mismos / y nos rescribimos para sobrevivir" (200). Como tal, el testimonio surge como una forma de lucha en la cual la escritura del sobreviviente en un acicate de la memoria (Jara 1). "El testimonio es un golpe a las conciencias," sostiene Jara (3), y en su escritura los límites entre lo público y lo privado desaparecen dado que es la vejación que borra las fronteras (3). Al no existir ya una frontera entre lo público y lo privado, estas mujeres unen ambos espacios en su escritura y traen una experiencia privada—y una realidad subterránea—al espacio público, al igual que las Madres de Plaza de Mayo lo hacen en el plano social. Del mismo modo, en el final de *Pasos bajo el agua* se expresa la "urgencia" de hablar y prestar testimonio:

> Goza usted de algunos privilegios: buena cara, buen humor. Aprovéchelos. Cerebro titilante y alerta. Explótelo. Usted puede ahora ver el mundo. Puede meterse en él, puede ser una verdadera metida hinchapelotas que es lo que más le conmueve ser, lo que más le emociona. Entonces no se encapriche. No se encapriche con y contra el silencio. Hable y no hable. Escuche y no dé pelota. Ríase y no se ría. Y no joda. Haga lo que se le antoje y no lo haga. Respire hondo. Vamos. Que el aire entre. Que entre. Eso me decía a mí misma camino a los gatos. O sea: a modo de regreso. (105–6)

Si bien son las palabras que la autora se dice a sí misma, el uso de la tercera persona exhorta al resto de los sobrevivientes a hablar, a prestar testimonio, a negarse a guardar silencio. Hablar, testimoniar, escribir sobre esa experiencia colectiva es, entonces, un *regreso,* o como dijera René Jara, la búsqueda de una forma para vivir el presente. Se escribe, además, para unir los pedazos de una existencia fragmentada y recrear una nueva identidad a partir de una experiencia traumática. Escribir las memorias de la represión, por consiguiente, es una tarea necesaria que implica procesos múltiples. Es el proceso opuesto al de "desterritorialización" al que fueron sometidos los detenidos-desaparecidos cuando se los privó de sus derechos humanos. Si para escribir es necesario "vivir para contarla," también es necesario que los sobrevivientes cuenten la historia para que se mantenga viva y a su vez para redimir a los que ya no pueden prestar su voz. Se escribe para sobrevivir, para transformar el trauma interno en un texto artístico, pero también como una *reescritura.* Es decir, la escritura de las memorias con su multiplicidad de voces y testimonios deshace las inscripciones y las marcas que la represión deja en los cuerpos y en la sociedad, y *rescribe* a estos nuevos sujetos cuya escritura sobrevive toda tragedia.

Notas

1. Las amenazas y los ataques verbales que recibía todo aquel que osaba expresar su disconformidad o denunciar los abusos establecían ya una constante. En abril de 1985, el diario "*La Nación*" afirma que "las Madres

de la Plaza de Mayo ejercen con su insistencia otra clase más de terrorismo: el sentimental" (Logan 106). Luego de la última ley de amnistía, las Madres de Plaza de Mayo son reiteradamente amenazadas, sus oficinas saqueadas, y su presidenta, Hebe de Bonafini, acusada de traidora nacional y llevada a la Corte (Guzmán 214–15). No es de sorprendernos que muchos textos se publicaran en el exilio.

2. Aunque se vislumbran ciertas "grietas" en una definición estricta del testimonio (Elzbieta Sklodowska advierte sobre la dificultad a la hora de definir el género testimonial y David William Foster se ocupa de la narrativa testimonial propia de Argentina), me refiero específicamente a los estudios realizados en torno a esta problemática por John Beverly, George Yúdice, Georg Gugelberger y otros, dado que plantear el testimonio solamente como una narración producida por un testigo "durante" una situación de urgencia, dejaría fuera de la esfera a la narrativa testimonial femenina en Argentina. Si bien estas memorias expresan un sentimiento de urgencia y una necesidad de comunicar una realidad que son características del testimonio como género, se asevera necesario replantear la teorización del testimonio dentro de este contexto literario particular y en el marco de su propio contexto histórico, sin olvidar las particularidades desde una perspectiva de "género" (masculino/femenino). Para un mayor estudio de la teorización acerca del testimonio, veáse: *The Real Thing. Testimonial Discourse and Latin America.* Ed. Georg M. Gugelberger. Durham: Duke UP, 1996; *Testimonio y literatura.* Ed. René Jara y Hernán Vidal. Vol. 3. Minneapolis: Institute for the Study of Ideologies and Literature, 1986.

3. Este trabajo no pretende limitar el corpus de las memorias de la represión en Argentina a sólo algunos relatos testimoniales, ni tampoco definir un corpus específico. En los últimos años han surgido numerosos relatos interesantes y con perspectivas y temáticas diferentes. Cabe destacar que si bien en el Cono Sur existen otras narrativas testimoniales de mujeres, de las cuales destaco a *Mi habitación, mi celda*, de Lilian Celiberti en conversación con Lucy Garrido (Montevideo: Arca, 1990), este ensayo se concentra específicamente en los testimonios de mujeres en Argentina.

4. En *Ese infierno*, las autoras dan cuenta de la dificultad de narrar sus experiencias: "Recordarlas es incómodo [. . .] Son historias difíciles de decir. Provocan angustia, reavivan dolores. Nos confrontan con pasiones olvidadas, con situaciones límite. Jorge Semprún, sobreviviente del Campo de exterminio nazi de Auschwitz, pudo escribir sus historias después de cuarenta años. Convocarlas antes, dice, le hubiera impedido vivir. Para nosotras—salvando las distancia—, esta experiencia colectiva de recordar, sistemáticamente, pudo

darse recién después de veinte años. Recogerla en charlas grabadas, durante tres años y medio, tuvo sus dificultades" (32). De forma similar, en una entrevista realizada por Erna Pfeiffer, Alicia Kozameh señala la disyuntiva entre recordar y olvidar, proponiendo como alternativa la creación literaria, y lo plantea de la siguiente manera: "Después de que el hecho sucedió, lo instalo en mi mente como ficción; lo desnaturalizo en sí mismo y lo convierto en algo muy diferente, como para poder destrozarlo, como para poder masticarlo, como para que se haga accesible a mi sistema digestivo, para que mi sistema digestivo se lo aguante, digamos, y salga como un producto diferente y nuevo. Porque, Erna, si sale como lo mismo que fue, quizás yo ya estaría muerta, porque no me aguantaría tanta mierda. Es una transformación. Yo no podría soportar los sucesos. Yo creo que en el momento en que suceden, uno es muy fuerte, uno se los aguanta. Por un simple mecanismo de defensa, de sobrevivencia. Pero después, tener que aguantarme toda la vida pensar en esos hechos sin tener una alternativa (para mí artística), no lo podría soportar" (Pfeiffer 95).

5. Al momento de publicar estas historias, sin embargo, aparecen ciertos inconvenientes como mencionamos al principio de este trabajo y que se deducen fácilmente de los datos de publicación de cada una de estas obras. En el caso específico de Partnoy, *The Little School* era originalmente un testimonio dividido en trece historias escritas en castellano, centradas en otros personajes de "La Escuelita" y excluyendo sus experiencias personales. La casa editorial Cleis Press, no obstante, solicitó que el texto fuera traducido al inglés y que se le agregaran más historias en las que se leyera el propio testimonio personal de la autora; es decir, sus propias vivencias, su propia voz. Partnoy quería que su testimonio fuera una voz colectiva, pero la editorial argumentó que el público lector querría verla a ella misma en sus historias (Taylor 165–6).

6. Entrevista telefónica realizada a Nora Strejilevich el 26 de octubre de 2004.

7. El desgarrante antisemitismo en el que se asienta la represión y la fuerza de una ideología neo-nazi imperante, quedan documentados ampliamente a partir de 1984 en el informe de 50.000 páginas de la CONADEP y en su testimonio "resumido", el *Nunca más*, que se publica para su difusión masiva. Además en su novela, Strejilevich cita parte de su propio testimonio publicado en el informe *Nunca más*: "Me aseguraron que el 'problema de la subversión' era el que más les preocupaba, pero que el 'problema judío' le seguía en importancia y estaban archivando información. Me amenazaron por haber dicho palabras en judío en la calle (mi apellido) y por ser una

moishe de mierda, con la que harían jabón... el interrogatorio lo centraron en cuestiones judías" (32).

8. El tema de la "venda en los ojos" ya ha sido estudiado por algunas críticas. Louise A. Detwiler distingue entre "the blindfolded (eye)witness" y "the blindfolded reader." El primer término se refiere al testigo "ocular" o al testigo protagonista que tiene los ojos vendados y que por ello tiene que agudizar los sentidos y desarrollar estrategias para deducir lo que no puede ver con sus propios ojos. También, metafóricamente se refiere a la realidad en la que se encuentran los prisioneros y la sociedad en general, "a ciegas," sin entender bien lo que pasa. El segundo término, hace referencia al lector que se encuentra con los ojos vendados porque no puede acceder a toda la historia: siempre hay partes de la historia que quedan vedadas, que no se cuentan, no sólo por la dificultad de contarlas, sino porque además, los que "desaparecen," no pueden ofrecernos su testimonio (citado en Detwiler).

9. Nora Strejilevich menciona que aunque hubiera querido darle a su historia una estructura fija con principio, medio y final no hubiera sido posible, porque no se le puede dar forma a una memoria traumática y expresarla de manera lineal. La escritura de estas memorias se fue gestando durante casi veinte años en los cuales Strejilevich fue tomando testimonios de varias personas, entrevistándolas y grabándolas, para luego transcribirlas en el texto con letra cursiva, proceso que fue completado con información tomada de diversas fuentes: archivos, diarios, y testimonios varios, según se cita al final del libro. Entrevista telefónica con Nora Strejilevich el 26 de octubre de 2004.

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The History That Is Criss-crossing Back and Forth: The Dialectic of the Same and the Other in Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quijote*

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For a literary historian, it is not surprising that a new genre should be inaugurated in such a socially heterogeneous and politically complex period as the Counter-Reformation in Spain. The societal climate of the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century Spain, however, engendered a particular genre whose intrinsically dialogic nature provided the most adequate formal representation for the material history of the period: the novel. Characteristically for an inchoate generic articulation, Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quijote* brings to the fore the genre's own dynamic, and importantly highlights its status vis-à-vis the "real life." This article interprets the literary articulation of the intense dialectic of the cultural Same and the Other in *Don Quijote* as a refractive way of dealing with history. Through an exploration of the heteroglotic intertwining of the discourses of the Same (Spanish, Christian editor) and the Other (Moorish historian), this essay will present the novel as importantly modulated by the cultural and historical inflections. In turn, it will argue for the formative role of the dynamic of the Same and the Other in the development of the genre of the novel itself.[1]

Monological History and its Narrative Correctives

By the time when the shepherd-boy in a bordering land saw unknown people in Moorish apparel coming towards him and screamed "Moors, the Moors have landed! Moors, Moors! To arms, to arms!" (*DQ* 281; bk. 2), the external "threat" to Spain—its Oriental/ Orientalized Other—had long since made its way through the nation's gates; in fact, it had become an intrinsic part of what the Spanish kept

inside.[2] During roughly eight centuries of living together, the population had mixed, and an unprecedented multitude of races and beliefs had inhabited the area. Despite great diversity and much intercourse (even in official form of intermarriages, joint trades and so forth), the anti-Semitic and anti-Arabic sentiments had gradually intensified since the beginning of the thirteenth century. The racial intolerance reached its peak in the sixteenth century, consequential upon the endeavors to construct a Spanish sense of self, a political entity which would be religiously and nationally opposed to anything "exterior" (other national entities, Reformation, Islam, the rise of the mercantile class, etc.). Thus Spain tried to corroborate its own national identity through the solidification of a negative notion of racial, ethnic, and religious "otherness." The cluster of ambivalent feelings characteristic for the negotiation of the "otherness" in the process of consolidation of the "sameness" got attached in particular to the image of the *morisco*, against which the "purely Spanish" purported to define itself.[3] As the sense of identity is not susceptible to direct representation, it generally has to be derived by an act of literary, artistic, or cultural distancing, and the consolidation of the Spanish identity was no exception. The ambivalent attitude towards *moriscos* was reflected most interestingly in the arts and literature of the period: the *morisco*-Other would be subject to either vilification or idealization in Christian terms.

In the light of this historical and literary overview, it might seem counter-intuitive that an internally dialogized narrative system such as the modern novel could come into being precisely at the time and space marked by forceful monologization. Yet, it is everything but coincidental (or solely a premature stroke of genius) that a generic mixture of heightened narrative and cultural bending—Cervantes's *Don Quijote*—stands at the beginning of the history of the modern novel. The social conditions of the late XVI century Spain were in fact particularly favorable for the rise of the novel. In his discussion on the novel and heteroglossia, Mikhail Bakhtin claims that the emergence of the modern novel is accompanied by an undermining of the picture of national stability through two linguistic crises. Intralinguistically, the peaceful coexistence of the discourses within the predominant discourse has ended: "territorial dialects, social and professional dialects and jargons, literary language, generic languages within literary languages" dissipate the "official" language itself (Bakhtin 12). In *Don Quijote*, Bakhtin continues, this state is emblematized through the

encounter of the "respectable discourse" of romances and the vulgar language. Externally, on the other hand, "[. . .] the period of national languages, coexisting but closed and deaf to each other, comes to an end," Bakhtin observes. Now these disparate languages "throw light on each other"; for, "one language can, after all, see itself only in the light of another language" (Bakhtin 12).

This intra- and extraheteroglossia is easily noticeable in the societal dynamics of the Counter-Reformation Spain. In spite of ostensible success in its repressive efforts to corroborate the national identity, the actual failure of the Counter-Reformation politics was manifested in the inflections of the inner lever of national consciousness—the language itself. Neither the Inquisition nor oppressive politics could annihilate the cultural impact of the centuries-long entwining of races, languages, and beliefs in the area. The amalgam of the existent languages, dialects, and the "new" discourses of emerging trades, permanently questioned the assumption of a linguistic unity onto which the Spanish might lay a cultural foundation. *Don Quijote* provides us with an apt artistic elaboration of both, heteroglossia in language and overall polyglossia of the period. The first modern novel presents itself as a crucible of discourses, skillfully orchestrated to give the picture of a vibrant time-and-space. In the interpenetration of discourses, Cervantes goes far: he conjoins languages in a new linguistic admixture, the process in which the translation becomes the novel itself. On the level of "voicing," Cervantes inaugurates a specifically polyphonic politics of writing. This tactic, I would argue, discloses the imminent politico-historical intentions of the novel: it furnishes the reader with the picture of Spain imbued with "otherness." The proliferation of difference on the pages of *Don Quijote* (the Moor, the Gypsy, the Jew, the woman, Don Quijote himself, and so forth) powerfully puts into question Spain's horrifying, absurd and, eventually, unsuccessful attempt to dispel the Other. This culturally installed polyphony may be viewed as a profound problematization of our historical and epistemological insolence. Two concrete historical "voices" permeate *Don Quijote*; unsurprisingly, those are the "voices" that capture the politico-historical dynamics of the Counter-Reformation in Spain best—the discourse of the Moorish "Other" and that of the Christian "Same." The two discourses to merge are not chosen by chance. The "deorientalizing" edict which Philip II issued in 1567 prohibited Islamic apparel, the public exercise of Islamic religious practices and

customs, and—most relevant to Cervantes's narrative strategy in *Don Quijote*—the utilization of spoken or written Arabic. The novel's heightened linguistic consciousness is thus revealed as bound to the particular historical vicissitudes.

Heteroglossia and polyphony alone seem not to be enough to account for the radical nature of the new genre. The heteroglotic discourse rendering the comparable world has to be accompanied with a subjective reflexivity which both Georg Lukács and Mikhail Bakhtin find intrinsic to the novel as a genre.[4] This internal reflexivity, which, I would argue, need not necessarily be equalized with intentionality (as self-reflexive employment of a device), always presupposes at least two planes, or two constituents, two "voices" (stances), which then engage in a dialectic movement back and forth. Thus the historical need to accommodate different voices gets transposed onto a dialogic narrative structure in *Don Quijote*. This "dialogicity" gets reflected/refracted on several levels of the novel. One may easily find it transcribed as the dialogue between a well-established (and soon-to-be-obsolete) form, and a nascent form (romance and the novel). The "new poetry," which Cervantes practices further, may be seen as a dialogical oscillation between the realistic novel and the novel of fantasy, as José Ortega y Gasset acknowledges (282). The self-reflective moments such as Don Quijote and Sancho Panza's famous discussion about the rendition of their own adventures certainly instantiates the same dynamic between the first and the second part of the novel (and also that between the two different "renditions" of the story). Yet, the novel itself is dialogically structured around the intertwining of the aforementioned "cultural" voices—that of the Moor and the Christian—now inflected polyglotically and polyphonically. The dialectical movement between the two positions situates Cervantes's novel in the text and the world of Renaissance Spain. In addition, this reflection/refraction points to a more general dynamic of the rise of the novel: it may be argued that the societal dynamic that accentuates the interrelation of the cultural Same and the Other is naturally productive of the novel as a dialogic genre.

The Interrelation as Internarration

The empirical reflection of material history, the novel's "external" reflexivity, gets formalized (indeed heteroglossized) in the two entities narrating the story. The interplay between the Moorish author and

the Christian editor may be viewed, in a Bakhtinian sense, as aimed to dissipate the nation's coherent, hermetic language, and consequently, to disintegrate the predominant discourse. Simultaneously, it is an instance in which the novel's self-reflexivity finds a more oblique formal expression than that of the heroes' self-reflexive and metatextual remarks. Via the highlighted role of the translator, the Arabic (Moorish) pseudo-author and Spanish (presumably) Christian editor establish an interrelation that is marked by both rivalry and harmony.[5] The formal effect of this dialectical interplay is a constant re-fracturing of the narrative frames, their inflection, or a certain "criss-crossing" movement of the story, as the Spanish editor-narrator describes it at one point. The play of the narrators thus installs a *metalepsis*, an infraction of the narrative levels, as a main structuring principle of the novel, but also of the world reflected in it.[6] For this formal self-exploration presents a microscopic image of the broader realm: it reveals the complex and disquieting set of relations between the predominant culture/discourse and its Other in the Counter-Reformation Spain. Structurally, this interaction is a major formative principle of the novel itself; culturally, it is the formal articulation of the complex historical negotiation of the otherness.

Characteristically for the genre, the beginning of the novel sets up the dialogical mode while presenting all the motifs and relations in a compressed form. There, the reader learns that the text is rather a "stepchild" than a "real child" of the person narrating the prologue. The otherness of the "original" author is clearly indicated—the reader is "neither his relative nor his friend;" the evaluative distance between the reader (addressed intimately) and the "original" author (referred to abstractly) is also invoked: "your soul sits in its own body, you can make up your mind for yourself, with the best of them" (*DQ* 3; bk. 1). This pseudo-author-contrivance reveals its cautionary function in the next sentence addressed to the (leisurely) reader: "you're under no obligation at all, so you can say anything you like about this history, you don't have to worry about being insulted if you don't like it or rewarded if you do" (*DQ* 3; bk.1). But the *desocupado lector* is already put on alert by the editor's distancing from the narrative whose subversiveness he rightly assumes. At the same time, the internal reflexivity is installed and the reader's attention is directed to the form and its adequacy in the rendition of reality. The "author" will be revealed only at the end of chapter 8: he is a Moorish historian named Sidi Hamid Benengeli.

This "postponement" propels the anxiety of the absence of author(ity) from the first pages: the confusion about the author feeds into a sense of loss of the narrative voice which would authorize a vision of the world and therefore, one may add, institutionalize the text itself.[7] "Prepared" with this narrative expectation, the entrance of Sidi Hamid is writerly "accentuated," thereby drawing attention to its historical context: the prohibition of the utilization of spoken or written Arabic. This chronotope figures the pseudo-author "as a ghost that has returned to our stage," the ghost whose power to reaffirm, obliterate or change our narrative is sensed throughout the novel.

Even though the references to the Moorish author appear regularly after Chapter 9, and his role is prominent in chapter 27, Sidi Hamid's presence is tacit until the end of the first book, and does not resurface under his own name until the first sentence of the 1615 continuation.[8] Meanwhile, the Moors were formally expelled from Spain (the edict of 1609), and "after 1614, ceased to exist in the official language" (Burshatin 132). The unofficial/anti-official language of Cervantes's novel refused to muffle the "Morisco problem": the Moors appear with increasing frequency in the second part of the novel, now with an ostensibly negative designation which is put into question by its very aggressiveness and its comic-ironic undertones. A special role in this process is assigned to the Moorish pseudo-author whose self-assertive and comic interventions finally affirm him as one of the characters. Ruth El Saffar estimates that the Moorish historian "appears at least a hundred times" in Part 2 (83). Not only does the Moorish historian appear more frequently in the text, but his presence is also *felt* more powerfully. An important way in which a sense of increased presence may be obtained is a characteristic device of naming and calling by name. In the index to Martín de Riquer's edition, Sidi Hamid Benengeli's name is listed as appearing only five times in Part I and as many as thirty-three times in Part II. The second part abounds with the historian's interruptions, comments, and metatextual remarks, from his praise to Allah as Don Quijote's third sally begins (*DQ* 8; bk. 2) to a digression on the subject of poverty (*DQ* 44; bk. 2). Given the fact that the "prime" author is a Moor, it might appear that the image of the Moor in the text was shaped only by another Moor. However, his "history" is edited (rewritten?) by a (presumably Christian) person narrating the prologue, hereafter termed the editor. Thus, the main narrator *is* a Moor, but his narrative is edited by a Christian.

Although the editor resolutely denies his merits in the figuration of the story, his authoritative attitude is salient: he revises, corrects, and orchestrates different sections of the text, and his self-reflexive intrusions in the narrative seem as significant as Benengeli's own remarks. The "editorial action" often takes the form of a conspicuous intervention, typically without warning, as seen in the prologue, or at the end of chapter 8 in the first part, as well as in numerous instances of questioning the historian's narrative in the second part of the novel. The Spanish editor responds to the Moorish historian's self-assertiveness in Part II with overt mistrust, indeed ridicule of the historian's ability to relate the story coherently. The Moorish historian's account now appears erratic and untenable. The editor explicitly suggests that there might be some sources which are more accurate or that the existing materials might have been presented in a better way; furthermore, he frequently points out what the historian, despite his remarkable attentiveness to detail, simply fails to render. In this way, Sidi Hamid's narrative efforts are presented as at the same time absurdly detailed and deficient, and therefore ludicrous.[9] Given the digressiveness to which he is inclined, the historian's lamentations over the limited subject of his history (*DQ* 44; bk. 2) produce additional comic effects. Through the editorial intervention, the "*filósofo mahomético*" rivals his own heroes as an object of laughter. The editor, in turn, reveals himself as a clear embodiment of the domineering culture: he orders, organizes, and comments upon the narrative, having the power to praise or condemn the Moorish historian.

The implications of this "Christian translation," are, of course, serious. The Moorish historian's seemingly unproblematic attitude toward Christian persecution of the Muslims, and his occasional derision aimed at the members of his own ethnic minority have to be investigated under a different light. The Moors appearing in the text are, then, literally redescribed in the language and rhetorical system of the imposing culture. In this light, the "edited story," even though not being an account of an actual travel to foreign lands, may be viewed as an "ethnographic narrative" in the way Michel de Certeau uses this term.

According to Certeau, an ethnographic narrative is the "travel account" of a circular journey which develops in three stages: description of "the outbound journey: the search for the strange which is presumed to be different from the place assigned it in the beginning

by the discourse of culture," a central "depiction of savage society, as seen by a 'true' witness" and "the return voyage, the homecoming of the traveler-narrator" frame (*Heterologies* 69–70). After the distancing process of the outbound voyage, the narrator performs his "activity of translation" (*Writing* 222), explaining the world of the alien in terms of a framing meta-discourse. The account of the homeward voyage reverses the distancing process and returns both the narrator and his exotic subject to the world of the familiar. As the traveler orders and recounts the observations made on his journey to create a credible narrative, he "invents" the Other, i. e. "brings back a literary object" (*Writing* 213), rendered essentially in the terms of his own culture. It is the Other "himself, originally absent from common representations, who returns in the text [. . .] enters our language and our lands" (*Heterologies* 70). The attempt to integrate the Other into the Sameness of the predominant discourse is thus the final aim of an ethnographic narrative. One may now recognize the editor's story as a symbolic-narrative voyage to the land of the Other: through traveling and distancing from the initial perspective, the narrative of *Don Quijote* moves away from its "home" toward the uncanny, if comically toned, world of the Other (the chivalric, imagined world of Don Quijote's speeches, North Africa of the Captive's Tale, the lunatic asylum of the barber's tale, and so forth) by the acts ranging from ridicule to misappropriation.

Yet, the ambivalence in the negotiation of the "otherness" is disclosed precisely through the dominant culture's reinforced need to "evaluate" the other. This process typically generates ambiguities. Hence the editor's stance towards the Moorish historian's account is characteristically full of contradictions. On the one hand, the editor admires the Moor's text for its veracity, attention to detail, and historicity, and describes Sidi Hamid Benengeli as "wise and knowing," (*DQ*, 170; bk. 2). At the same time, he laments the fact that the author is an Arab, since the Arabs are prone to be liars and hostile to Christians. He further concludes that the story itself is likely to be toned down rather than embellished and that the Arabic author "deliberately passed over things in silence" (*DQ*, 48; bk. 2). Later, when he praises the Moor for being "a very searching and careful historian," the editor asserts that Sidi Hamid—never "passes over it [thing, reference] in silence" (*DQ* 81; bk.2). His ambivalent attitude is perhaps best captured in the general designation of Benengeli's

account as "lofty, impressive, scrupulously detailed, pleasant and highly imaginative history" (*DQ* 120; bk.2).

The historian's and the editor's respective narrative frames, however, seem not to be alone in the novel. The presumed dialogue between the Moorish historian-author and the Christian editor-author is dependent upon a translator and the importance of this mediatory activity is clearly emphasized in *Don Quijote*. An optimistic view of this dynamic would hold that the role of the translator reflects the nature of *Don Quijote* and the genre of the novel in general as a constructive cultural translation. However, when pursuing this interpretative path, the reader must not forget that the "translator" in *Don Quijote* is everything but non-aligned. His intrusions and comments do not really signify a presence of a third party in the dialogue. The very way in which the editor "obtained" a translator is illuminating in this respect. The translator is introduced on page 9: the editor is happy to have found an unnamed *morisco* who would translate the manuscript accurately and "succinctly" and would be satisfied with only "fifty pounds of raisins and three bushels of wheat" as a salary (*DQ* 46; bk. 1). The Moor is literally snatched and brought to the editor's home where he spent "a little more than a month and a half" translating the manuscript (*DQ* 46; bk. 1). The setting for the editor's proposal and *morisco*'s acceptance is everything but incidental: "And then I quickly drew the Moor aside, *into the church cloister*, and implored him to translate [. . .]" (*DQ* 46; bk. 1, emphasis mine). The spatial designation serves to subtly indicate the predominant discourse into which the Moor is "drawn." As a result of this symbolic movement and the economic stimulus, the translator will be inclined more to the Christian discourse of the editor than to that of the pseudo-author. The translator will overtly display his "alliance" with the editor in Part II. He will show more understanding for the Catholic structure than for the pseudo-author's "oriental" digressiveness and penchant for details. In *Don Quijote*, part 2, page18, the translator and editor finally concur in criticizing the historian's methodology: the *morisco* translator omits Sidi Hamid's lengthy description of Don Diego de Miranda's home because it does not "comfort well with the main themes of this history" (*DQ* 440; bk. 2). The translator and the editor thus unite in the "activity of translation," i.e. the rendition/explanation of the world of the Other.[10]

One, however, should not be misled by the apparent hegemony of the Christian discourse in the novel, for the discourses of the Same and

the Other have already intertwined. Benengeli's presence is also a narrative. Moreover, he is the one who is granted to utter the most subversive metatextual remark in the novel: the readers, the historian informs us, should be grateful not only for what he has decided to put in the text, but also for what he has *refrained* from writing (*DQ* 575; bk. 2). The withheld empowers him as much as the rendered. And the "rendered," especially in the second part of *Don Quijote*, is replete with the explicit accounts of the status of the Moors in the Counter-Reformation Spain, the most conspicuous example being the story of Ricote (54; 63; 65; bk. 2) and his daughter, Ana Félix (63; bk. 2).

The metatextual remark referenced above presents language (and/or its lack) as an important lever of power and, hence, allies the diplomatic and linguistic trade. This insight leads one to a closer perusal of the language deployed in the novel in search of the same dynamic. If Bakhtin is right, the dialogic interaction between these two narrative and politico-cultural entities should be also discernible on an elementary (and more tangible) level, that of language itself.

Language of the Cultural Interrelating

Cervantes was not content to *only* dialogically pair the narrators and produce an elaborate agonistic interaction between these characters. Rather, he attempted to present the subtle interlacing of the two discourses *within* the language itself. In *Don Quijote* the interanimation of languages, often performed on the extralinguistic level, i. e. when the "languages" involved are distinct and concrete linguistic/historical entities, affirms itself as the impetus for the genre of novel. How does it function in Cervantes's novel?

Sometimes, the editor surfaces unexpectedly from what purports to be Sidi Hamid's manuscript. The editor's intrusions are almost imperceptible, rendered within the language itself. There are several instances in which Benengeli takes the Christian side in the disputes between the two cultures. The reader should realize that such overt admissions of the superiority of Christianity over the historian's Muslim beliefs are incongruous—the Moor must be facetious in employing such terms. The heteroglossia as a rule accompanies these "linguistic conversions," and the transformation of vocabulary renders the sense of a change in attitude. For instance, Benengeli's solidarity with the Christian forces in the description of the naval battle off the coast of Barcelona (63; bk. 2) is signified by the reiteration of the adjective "nuestro/a" ("our boat,"

"our galleys," and alike). The occasional use of the "Válame Dios" expletive is another excellent example of this linguistic intrusion. In this light, Sidi Hamid's discourse may be seen as constantly undermined from within by a surreptitious Christian presence.

Yet, in a comparable manner, Benengeli's discourse exerts its own power: the historian's ideological stance lurks behind the language of his allegedly accurate history and combats the editorial version more than successfully. Thus the Moorish narrator powerfully asserts his "ultimate" orchestration of the narrative exactly in the story whose subject-matter purports to be emphatically "Christian." Here I have in mind the Captive's Tale, an interpolated story which in many respects presents a microcosmic picture of the entire novel.[11] The dynamic interweaving of the two discourses peaks in this semi-ethnographical-semi-adventurous account. The story may be considered a compressed picture of how polyglossia operates in the novel: it renders the full complexity of cultural interrelating. Thus it may be beneficial to engage in a close reading of this episode next.

The Captive's Tale, or Who Is Captured?

The central part of "The Captive's Tale" (*DQ* bk. 1, ch. 39-41) follows (sometimes with a proliferation of details, sometimes with the omission of important information) the "ethnographic narrative" of a Christian captive in Algiers and his escape with the help of a beautiful Moorish girl, Zoraida, who has an "immense wish" to become a Christian. This desire seemingly relegates the Moorish girl from the realm of the Other to the realm of the Same, even before the actual story begins. However, the authenticity of this cultural and religious conversion is subtly put into question, as my further discussion will prove.

If one overlooks the dynamic of the dialogical interaction between the two narrators, the tale might appear as an innocent, hopeful story of a "purehearted" Muslim's conversion to Christianity and therefore unproblematic to the predominant discourse. Yet, the underlying presence of the rigorous Arabian historian subverts the narrative and silences the editor. One particular instance of silence is noteworthy here: the Moorish historian—in an illicit protest, as it were—entirely omits a description of Zoraida's mental conversion to Christianity and the miraculous apparitions of Zoraida's teacher, which supposedly have incited her faith. It is on this point that the account of conversion significantly diverges from the typical "*converso*" stories

in Cervantes's time. The power of the unwritten to which the historian alludes in his metatextual remarks referenced above (*DQ* 525; bk. 2) is intensively at work here. The conversion is, however, further relativized by the words of Zoraida's father: "And don't think she's changing religions because she believes yours is any better—no, it's just that she knows how much easier it is to practice indecency, in your lands, than it is in ours" (*DQ* 279; bk. 2). The reader is finally led to comprehend the conversion skeptically. Hence the story presents itself as the compressed embodiment of a broader narrative (re)fracturing.

Yet, by far the most important device employed to render the dialogical interrelating of the Same and the Other in this tale is the powerful linguistic "intervoicing." The newly discovered means of polyglotic language thus makes the cultural clash and dialogue more conspicuous than anywhere else in the novel. The surreptitious narrative power of the Moorish historian is noticeable, first, in a complicated description of how the hero came to Algiers where he met his future bride. To embark on a close reading, as proposed above, means to attentively *travel* with the hero. On such a voyage the reader may discover that s/he is led from Spain to Italy to Flanders, and then again to Italy, to Venice, wherefrom to Constantinople, and eventually to Algiers. This circumlocution serves to distort the spatiality and introduce a conglomerate of different "others" within that extended minimal space: Moorish commanders, the Italians who had converted to Islam, pirates, the Spanish disguised as Albanians, the pirating Turks, Greek double agents. This voyage will finally bring us to the "Otherland" where the actual cultural interaction may begin. For my present purposes, it seems even more important that, from the beginning of the account of his voyage towards (and back from) the Other, the captive shows an excessive—and seemingly unmotivated—need for familiarizing the reader with Arabic or Turkish words and customs (hence the activity of translation resumes the central position in the narrative once again). Trying to explain the world of the alien, the captive-narrator (our third-, if not fourth- or even fifth-plane narrator) gives a picturesque account on the Islamic rituals, beliefs, and some aspects of current politics, peppered with Arabic words through and through. We also witness an act of (narratively never innocent) naming and an apparently unnecessary classification: "The Barbary Moors call the ones from Aragón *tagarinos*, as they label those from Granada *mudéjares*, though in Fez what they call the *mudéjares* is

elches [. . .]" (*DQ* 270; bk. 1). The return voyage to Spain is no less complicated than the first trip. To come back from a foreign place, impressed, repelled, and reinscribed by the Other, appears to be as problematic as to encounter the alterity for the first time. When the travelers return, they themselves will be partly redefined, transformed. Their first encounter in the homeland certainly confirms this change. A shepherd boy they meet is terrified by the sight of the renegade, and Zoraida dressed in Moorish apparel and concludes that "all of Barbary was after him." So, he starts "running through the nearby wood, leaping like a rabbit and screaming, with the wildest yells ever heard, 'Moors, the Moors have landed! Moors, Moors! To arms, to arms!'" (*DQ* 281; bk. 1).

The story elicits the dialogue and clash of discourses shaping the novel through the heteroglossic refraction of the surface linguistic level: the interanimation of languages produces a vertiginous flux between Arabic and Spanish. The merging of the Arabic and Spanish vocabularies in part reflects the actual linguistic state of the Spanish language in that period, and in part presents Cervantes's narrative tactic aimed at rendering the collision and merging of a dominant and minority culture. The Moorish historian's and the Christian editor's discourses are strained to the point of breaking. As the captive narrates, his own language changes, metamorphizes into the very lingua franca that he hears "all across Barbary," the language which "neither is or isn't Moorish or Spanish, or any other language for that matter, but a jumble of languages [. . .] allowing us to communicate" (*DQ* 271; bk. 2).

To exemplify this merging of discourses one may turn to the first discursive bond between the two cultures: the letters that Zoraida and her future lover exchange. In these letters the language-merger is self-reflexively emphasized and attached to particularities of each culture; this strategy produces numerous comic effects. The strange mixture of Christian and Muslim imagery permeates Zoraida's letter, culminating in the fusion of Allah and Virgin Mary. Her Christian-Muslim narrative indeed evokes (and perhaps parodizes) the lead books of Granada, a daring attempt at reconciliation of the two discourses undertaken by Miguel de Luna and Alfonso de Castillo, the two New Christians of Muslim descent serving as official translators of Arabic for Philip II.[12] In turn, the captive significantly adopts her discourse in his response, renaming the Christian God in order to come nearer to his "chosen" Other: "May the true Allah protect you, my lady [. . .]" (*DQ* 267;

bk. 1) He finishes his letter with an exclamation as displaced (and therefore comic) as disturbing: "May Allah and Marién, His Mother, watch over you, my lady" (*DQ* 267; bk. 1).

There are, however, many other instances in which the two discourses are infracted, interpolated one into the other in a subtle manner that is often lost in translation or in the linguistic oblivion that has covered many a Cervantes's phrase. In this respect, the polyglotic interaction seems to have found its most expedient form in the strategic use of the Spanish words of Arabic origin. These (historically and politically) dialogized words either accentuate or undermine the unfolding course of events. For example, if one does not identify the word *la zalá* as a Spanish-Arabic word (derived from *saalam*) referring specifically to the Islamic bow to Allah, the delicate juxtaposing that this word offers will not be recognized. The word appears in two small, but rather important instances within *Don Quijote*, both in the Captive's Tale. In Zoraida's first letter, she says that a woman slave taught her how to make "la zalá cristianesca," that is to say, how to perform the Islamic bow in a Christian way.[13] A few pages later, a similar construction appears: the narrator describes how the Moorish renegade who watches the Hadji Murad's garden "hacer la zalá"—performs the bow to Allah. In both cases, the "zalá" phrase displays the amalgamation of the languages and it casts a more ambiguous light on Zoraida's and the renegade's conversions.

The Troubles of Epistemology of a Historical Record

The clash of a dominant and minority culture often brings about an interesting fluctuation of signs, revelatory of the psychological and historical projections of the dominant culture. The dominant culture frequently (and for the most part unconsciously) relegates the phrases of the dominated into its own discourse; it happens, however, that the predominant discourse "bounces back" the phrase, thereby attaching it to its very source. In this respect, one may find it of interest to follow the numerous phrases concerning lying in the novel. The "lying dog" phrase belongs to the set of common attributes of Christians in the Muslim imagery. The designation is taken up by Christians and then used to point back to the Arabs. The editor designates the author as a lying dog of a Moor by typical dispersion of the phrase: "the author was an Arab [. . .] it's very natural for people of that race to be liars [. . .]. I'd blame it on its dog of an author [. . .]"(*DQ*

46; bk. 1). The characters take up the same refrain: Don Quijote is disconsolate over the idea that his historian is Moorish and therefore a congenital liar (*DQ* 364; bk. 1). In the Captive's tale, Zoraida, a Moorish girl with Christian longings, warns the captive against her own national group: "don't trust a Moor, because they're all liars" (*DQ* 266; bk. 1). Later, Zoraida's father will describe Christians as liars: "you Christians always lie to us about how much you're worth and, to cheat the Moors, pretend you're all poor" (*DQ* 272; bk. 1). Along the lines of this stereotypical attribution, Muslims of the time generally gave little credence to Christian words of honor. To swear like a Christian was to invalidate an oath. Even this part of a stereotypical designation will be inverted by the predominant discourse. The captive writes to Zoraida: "as you know, Christians keep their promises far better than the Moors do" (*DQ* 267; bk. 1). The same phrase entails a more general epistemological questioning in the second part of the novel. Sidi Hamid Benengeli opens the chapter 27 with the words "I swear, as a Catholic Christian [. . .]" (*DQ* 493; bk. 1). In a confusing and comical manner, the translator speculates: "when Sidi Hamid swore as a Catholic Christian, being as he surely was a Moor, all he meant was that he was swearing in precisely the way that a Catholic Christian would swear, or is supposed to swear, that he is being truthful in saying whatever he says, just as Sidi Hamid, swearing as a Catholic Christian, was verifying his own truthfulness in what he recorded about *Don Quijote* [. . .]" (*DQ* 493; bk. 1). Even without the rhetorical whirls in which the translator entangles himself in order to justify the Moor, the sensitive reader would not miss the underlying irony of Hamid's words. For the reader *knows* that the story is fictionalized. Epistemological questions, emphasized by both Hamid and the translator, are suddenly given prominence. The series of praises or condemnations of the historian's veracity now appear in a novel light, as the mobility of the lying-sign renders everyone—a liar. It is this epistemological instability of *Don Quijote* (indeed the question at the center of the later development of the novelistic genre) that, in my view, reflects back onto the "prefigured" world of the historical reality. At the time of dissemination of signs/signatures of the dominant discourse (cf. my discussion of the turbulent history of the period), such powerful problematization of truth should not be deemed incidental. This epistemological questioning is significantly rendered through the interpenetration of the two specific, historically

embedded discourses. In this way, a distinctive feature of a novel genre serves to capture and critique the politico-historical reality.

The Cultural Politic of *Metalepsis*

The dialogical interrelating of the two "voices" and the corollary infraction of the narrative planes in *Don Quijote* artistically portray an "infracted" historical moment. In the light of my preceding analysis, the interilluminating play between the Moorish author and the Christian editor, the very *metalepsis* structuring the novel, may be viewed as a narrative strategy aimed to disband the nation's coherent language, and consequently, disintegrate the predominant discourse itself. This linguistic intertwining has a twofold effect on the cultural questions raised by the novel. On the one hand, it displays the painful and absurd nature of religious and racial intolerance in full light. On the other, it reveals the romantic myth of a peaceful coexistence as false and always tainted by appropriations. The "cultural politics" of the novel based upon the interpenetration of the discourses of the Same and the Other, then, may be seen in the light of an endeavor to propose a novel mode of co-existence. This mode would eschew both, the open aggressiveness toward the Other and the dominant culture's feigned benevolence aimed at annihilating cultural divergences. Thus *Don Quijote* performatively and playfully acknowledges the co-existence in realistic terms—as both, recognition and conflict.

How conscious of the implications of this complex *cultural* structuring Cervantes was is another question. The "prefigured" reality—to utilize Paul Ricoeur's conceptualizations here—frequently "necessitates" a certain type of figuration without the writer's overt intention. It is for this reason that the modern novel in the full sense of that word could have appeared *only* in Counter-Reformation Spain. Thus this device also vocalizes the novel's reflecting upon its own dialogic nature and a heteroglotic provenance of the genre itself. In turn, the entwining of the discourses of the Same and the Other may be seen as the distinctive societal dynamic which nourishes the novelistic form. *Don Quijote* presents an excellent example of how heteroglossia and dialogicity function in the modern novel to the aim of reflecting/refracting the contemporary reality. It is to this requirement of the genre that *Don Quijote* may thank its precarious suspension of "easy solutions" in the realm of (hi)story.

Notes:

1. Herein the dialectic interlacing of the narrative frames is understood as the manifestation of several governing principles of the novel as a genre: namely, its dialogicity, reflexivity (as both, generic-subjective reflexivity and the reflecting of empirical objectivity), and a refractive way in which the narrative engages with the material history.

2. The Spaniards used the cumulative designation "morisco" (the moor) to refer to the peoples of Arab and Berber descent. In the beginning, the image of the Moors in Spain did not rely upon specific religious and/or racial attributes, but rather upon the geographical origin and cultural difference. The question of race was never fully endorsed—there were as many white Moors as there were black ones, but their status as *infidels* was much emphasized in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. In the course of time, the term "morisco," however, came to be attached specifically to the converted Muslims suspected of secretly retaining their original faith.

3. The history of the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula started with the invasion of Spain by a mixed force of the Arabs and the Berbers in the early eighth century. The Christian reconquest was resumed in 1086 and it ended only four centuries later with the fall of Granada (1492). This was hurriedly followed by a spiritual reconquest, the work of the Inquisition, which made the status of all non-Christian, or "suspiciously" Christian groups in Spain (the Moors, the Jews, the Gypsies, the "*conversos*") highly problematic. Philip II's policy focused on establishing a strong autocratic royal power and securing the authority of the Catholic Church. To that end Philip II concocted an infamous status symbol—the certificate of *limpieza de sangre* (the purity of blood), satirized at length in *Don Quijote*. In 1567 Philip II issued a "deorientalizing" edict; the latter provoked a Moorish uprising that was put down with great severity. The Moors were officially expelled from Spain in 1609 by the decree of Philip III. Six years after, Cervantes published the second part of *Don Quijote*.

4. Cf. Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel: A Historico-Philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*, and Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*.

5. Although the narrative structure of *Don Quijote* is not always consistent or clear, the three-level author-translator-editor relationship remains the basis for a discussion of Cervantes's narrative technique. The historian-translator/editor structuring and the found manuscript device were common to the romances of chivalry. Cervantes utilized them in a twofold manner:

internally, they are the structural basis for his parody; externally, they are a formal refraction of the current historical moment.

6. Gérard Genette's concept *metalepsis*, meaning the infraction of narrative level, is arguably the most adequate term to describe this phenomenon in Cervantes's narrative technique; also noticed by James A. Parr.

7. Cervantes's subversive manner in which the authorial presence is made manifest actually keeps generating the implied authors. In addition to the historian and the editor, there is yet another "author" inferable from the text—the one writing the story of an editor-writer faced with an interesting manuscript by an exotic author. He may be that never identified "segundo autor" mentioned in part 1, ch. 8 or perhaps an even more obscure "ultimate author" mentioned occasionally throughout the novel. The authorial vertigo-effect simultaneously masks the real author and his intentions and indirectly points to an "authorial" crisis in contemporary Spain. In addition, this "authorial crisis" speaks well to the "transcendental homelessness," the historico-philosophical dynamic of constitutive of the novel, as elaborated by Lukács. The issue of authorial voice in Cervantes has been widely discussed. Among numerous, often-conflicting interpretations, I recommend: Ruth El Saffar, *Distance and Control in "Don Quixote"*.

8. The only direct commentary on the story that can be attributed to Benengeli in Part 1 is the annotation on Dulcinea which causes the translator's laughter, thereby revealing to the editor that he has discovered the manuscript for which he has been searching (*DQ*; bk. 1, ch. 9).

9. Cf. the editor's intrusions such as: "he was leaving the road and riding into a dense grove of oak trees—or perhaps they were cork trees, for Sidi Hamid is not quite so careful, on this point, as he usually is about such matters" (*DQ* 664); "leaning up against the trunk of beech, or perhaps it was an oak tree – again, Sidi Hamid Benengeli doesn't tell us what kind of tree it really was [. . .]" (*DQ* 706).

10. As many other issues fundamental to the novel, the translator's problematic status is compressively (and comically) mirrored in the Captive's Tale. There, the translator is a renegade who "well and truly believed [in God], though he was a sinner and a wicked man" (*DQ* 267). For the "activity of translation," see: Michel de Certeau's "Ethno-Graphy: Speech, or the Space of the Other: Jean de Léry" in *The Writing of History* 222.

11. By "The Captive's Tale" critics usually denote bk. 1, ch. 37-47 of Cervantes's *Don Quijote*.

12. For the information on this idiosyncratic heteroglossic endeavor, cf. Israel Burshatin, "The Moor in the Text: Metaphor, Emblem, and Silence,"

in "Race Writing and Difference," *Critical Inquiry* (1985) 12:1.

13. Burton Raffel's otherwise excellent translation unfortunately renders this phrase with "how to say Christian prayers" (*DQ* 266; bk. 1).

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Perfecting the Woman's Body in Early Modern Spain[1]

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Like a written text, each representation of the woman's body in Spain's early modern literature can be positioned within a historical and ideological context and read in and of itself as a significant component of the literary production of the period. My contention is that the dominant discourses of the period (the discourse of blood, the medical and religious discourses) fashion a carefully crafted perception of woman and her body, and that this process is tantamount to the writing of a text. Patriarchal ideology, basing its interpretation of woman and her corporeality on the teachings of Aristotle and Galen, writes woman as a monstrous aberration of nature, a being whose body must be contained and controlled. In this way, the patriarchy justifies her marginalization in said society. This perception of woman is subsequently disseminated through religious teachings, medical texts, and laws. In this paper, I seek to explore how the religious discourse produces another version of woman's body through conduct manuals. Written by religious men, these treatises contain guidelines for the behavior of women centering on the betterment of their perceived imperfect condition by specifically targeting their bodies as the site where they are to initiate this improvement. In order to observe how the woman's body is perfected through conduct literature, I will compare *The Education of a Christian Woman* (1523) by Juan Luis Vives to *La perfecta casada* (1583) by Fray Luis de León.

As Georgina Dopico Black reports in *Perfect Wives, Other Women*, sixteenth-century Spain saw an inordinate number of treatises dedicated to prescribing the behavior of women (17). The proliferation of conduct manuals written for women during this period can be attributed to specific social and historical events that explain the heightened production of this genre. One of these is the advent of the humanist movement which occurred in the late fifteenth

century and reached its height of influence during the reign of Charles V (r. 1516–56). Humanism was primarily an intellectual movement that originated in Italy and focused on the study of classical literature. As Merry Wiesner reports in *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, this philosophy was revolutionary and contradicted the beliefs of medieval scholars and thinkers (153). In their new approach to learning, humanists broached the issue of educating women. This raised serious concerns given that woman had a fixed role in society, specifically in the domestic sphere, one that did not include holding a public position. Wiesner explains that since the humanist program was designed to promote a life of eloquence and action, certain humanists were concerned that these abilities would deem a woman unchaste, a serious societal concern of the period. As we shall see in our analysis of the conduct manuals, a woman's chastity was the cornerstone upon which she was valued and figures prominently in both treatises.

Whereas the beginning of Charles V's reign can be characterized by a degree of openness toward foreign ideas, by the end of his sovereignty and throughout the rule of his son, Phillip II (r. 1556–98), the country witnessed a return to a more closed and rigid society. One of the movements that contributed to this closure was the Counter-Reformation. The goal of the Counter-Reformation was to reassert the authority of the Catholic Church, and promoted the institution of marriage as the most acceptable social condition for women. According to Wiesner, the Counter-Reformation also advocated a certain type of Christian existence rooted in celibacy and chastity even for married couples because sexuality, even within the institution of marriage, was still considered sinful. Furthermore, writers during this period had their own ideas of the ideal wife, and for this reason, wrote manuals instructing married women on how they should conduct themselves in their married state (29).

The importance of studying conduct literature is discussed by Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse in *The Ideology of Conduct*. In their collection of essays, they elucidate the significance of exploring and analyzing conduct manuals as a means to understand historical events and the social practices that emerge at different moments in history. Moreover, they propose that conduct manuals operate from the premise that "men and women can be produced" (40-1) and believe that the study of conduct manuals provides an excellent example of the manifestation of ideology. As we shall see,

chastity and a woman's enclosure through marriage and within the domestic sphere will figure prominently in the texts by Vives and Fray Luis as they are significant components of sixteenth-century Spanish patriarchal ideology.

Like Tennenhouse and Armstrong, Michel Foucault believes that bodies can be produced through mechanisms of control exercised by the ruling class in any given society. As we have posited, the function of the conduct manual is to reinforce the axiological aims of patriarchy during Spain's early modern period by providing a perfected and socially acceptable ideal of woman. Basing my argument on Foucault's conceptualization of docile bodies as he delineates it in *Discipline and Punish*, I will demonstrate that the conduct manual endeavors to manipulate, shape and train the woman's body so that in the place of a deficient, monstrous being it becomes a compliant, chaste, hard-working disciplined entity that obeys the norms of patriarchal society.

Foucault terms disciplined bodies as *docile bodies*. According to this notion, the process by which the human body is made more effective through discipline is what Foucault describes as "docility" and he defines a docile body as a body "that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (136). This description aptly fits the disciplining of woman's body as it occurs through prescriptive literature. Her body, deemed a natural defect, is made subject to man's control by the use of various writings and discourses that construct her as an inferior being. Then, through conduct literature, her body is transformed from an imperfect being into a perfect being, a being that is more "aligned with nature" and useful to man's purpose. Enclosure is often a component of the disciplinary program according to Foucault, and is also essential in the disciplinary treatment that both Juan Luis Vives and Fray Luis de León propose for women. Foucault explains that another result of discipline on the body is the elimination of power from the body (138). The paradox, then, of a disciplined body is that although it is a stronger, more useful body, it is ultimately a powerless body by virtue of being rendered subject to another's power. As we shall see, this is precisely what occurs when a woman's body is disciplined by the conduct manual during Spain's early modern period.

Although sixty years separate the publication of their texts, Juan Luis Vives and Fray Luis de León have similar goals in setting forth

prescriptions for the behavior of women in their respective conduct manuals. It is important to note that both authors endeavor to produce a perfected vision of woman through their instructions, instructions that are intended to remedy woman's natural deficiencies. Further, they incorporate religious, medical and philosophical discourses to give validity to their texts. While both authors ostensibly address their manuals to a single woman they are intended to be read by a wider audience. In my analysis of these texts, I will delineate how Vives constructs the perfect unmarried body and how Fray Luis produces the perfected wife's body. It is important to note that while they have similar intentions, there are significant differences between the manuals directly related to the fact that Vives writes his text during the reign of Charles V and Fray Luis during Philip II's rule.

The Education of a Christian Woman (1523) by Juan Luis Vives is divided into three books and contains guidelines for unmarried women, married women and widows. It is interesting to note that the books dedicated to young, unmarried women and married women are the lengthiest, perhaps because these were considered critical stages in a woman's life in terms of being able to directly control her formation. Juan Luis Vives wrote his manual presumably for Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, and dedicated it to her mother, the queen. It was originally written in Latin but was soon translated into English by Thomas Hyrde. Eventually it was translated into Spanish because Giovanni Giustiniani, who first translated it into Castilian, believed that all Spanish women should read this book (Vives 30). As Charles Fantazzi informs us in the introduction to his translation of the manual, Vives's treatise was received remarkably well, especially by English Catholics and Protestants. By placing a great deal of importance on the education of the woman, he explains that it "laid the groundwork for the Elizabethan age of the cultured woman" (3). Furthermore, *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* was printed for sixty years (33).

In the preface, Vives explains his purpose for writing this manual. First, he commends certain philosophers for having spoken and written extensively on the subject of a woman's chastity. However, in his opinion, they have not given women adequate instruction on how to live their lives accordingly. Secondly, after describing the contents of each book in his text, he expresses his opinion that "all of the books should be read by every class of woman" (46). We know that

this is impossible since not "every class of woman" could read during this period. Finally, he summarizes the sole purpose of educating a woman: "A woman's only care is chastity; therefore when this has been thoroughly elucidated, she may be considered to have received sufficient instruction" (47). It is evident from this passage that a woman's chastity, or moral purity, is the ultimate objective in her education according to Vives. We must also note that the chastity of the aristocratic woman, the ideal woman created in this text, is the most important element in preserving the purity of the nobleman's bloodline. Thus, Vives's purpose for writing his treatise centers on instructing the aristocratic woman how to maintain her chastity for the benefit of the man who owns her.

Book I, titled *Which Treats of Unmarried Young Women*, forms the basis of my analysis. In it, Vives disciplines the body of the woman by controlling each stage of her early life beginning with the moment she is born. First, he provides recommendations for the female infant's diet and uses the beliefs of Fabius Quintilian (c. AD 35-100) to support his notion that the Christian woman's formation should begin at birth. This initial monitoring of the feminine body begins with the feeding of the infant girl which, Vives believes, should be with her mother's breast milk. He continues by discussing the importance of selecting an appropriate wet nurse for an infant girl in the event that the mother cannot breastfeed her own child. He stipulates that it is imperative that this type of care be taken with the infant girl; however, the same is not necessary for a male infant because he will learn morals "outside the home" (54). By Vives's allusion to natural discourse, we are able to observe his implication that the moral education of the woman is meant to take place within the domestic space while man's will take place in the public sphere.

Vives also provides instructions for the young woman's early childhood. He insists that during this stage there are measures parents must take to guarantee the chastity of their daughters. For instance, when a young girl begins to speak and to walk, her play should be monitored. Her playmates will be limited to young girls her age and he specifies that a female adult, preferably her mother or an older woman, will supervise her physical and mental activities. Further, he prohibits the young girl from having any contact with men, and does not distinguish between her father and other males; he simply makes the following recommendation: "Any male should be excluded, and

the girl should not be accustomed to find pleasure in the company of men. For by nature, our affection is more lasting toward those with whom we have passed our time in childhood amusements" (55). According to Vives, then, if a young girl is not exposed to male company, she will not "naturally" feel affection for men when she is older because men will not have formed part of her childhood. In this way, she will not be drawn to them in a sexual way, and this will guarantee her chastity. Besides controlling her physical activities, we see that Vives wishes to control what enters a young girl's mind as well as to regulate her speech.

Further, Vives introduces another element to her playtime. In the following quote, he explains how engaging in specific play activities will prepare a young girl for her future as a domestic woman:

> But even then, in the form of play, let her exercise herself in things that will be of benefit to her later. Let her be edified by chaste tales, and take dolls away from her, which are a kind of image of idolatry and teach girls the desire for adornments and finery. I would be more in favor of those toys made of tin or lead that represent household objects, which are so common here in Belgium. (57)

Thus, he believes that as a child she should amuse herself with "chaste" stories which he does not define and household objects that will prepare her for her domestic obligations as a man's wife. As we will see, his mention of adornment anticipates his strict regulation of a young woman's outward appearance later in the book. Furthermore, in the following quote, he addresses the formal education of the young girl: "At the age when the girl seems ready to learn letters and gain some practical knowledge, let her begin by learning things that contribute to the cultivation of the mind and the care and management of the home" (58). According to Vives, then, the moment the young girl is exposed to any type of formal learning, it should be directed toward learning how to manage her "rightful" place in society, the domestic space.

In the next stage of a young woman's life, puberty, Vives mandates what a young woman's diet will consist of, and extols the benefits of fasting before she marries. He explains that fasting frequently will "extinguish the fires of youth." Further, when she is not fasting, he offers the following instructions for her sustenance:

> Let her nourishment be light, plain, and not highly seasoned, and it must be remembered that our first parent was expelled from paradise because of the food she ate and that many young girls who are accustomed to delicacies have sought them outside the home when they no longer had them at home, to the detriment of their chastity. (87)

Thus, he believes that by controlling the type of food that enters her body he will control its condition of purity. The religious discourse alluding to Eve's eating the apple in the Garden of Eden and her subsequent fall from grace underscores the fact that woman during this period was still held responsible for original sin. The use of the Bible as authority serves to reinforce his argument that the food a woman consumes directly affects her chastity. He also dictates that a young woman should only drink water. Vives's precise orders for the food and drink of the young girl serve the purpose of controlling the "flames of the flesh" and preventing the sinfulness that was typically associated with a woman's sexuality. In order to give validity to his views on food and drink, Vives quotes a letter written by St. Jerome, citing Galen (AD129–210) and his views on food and its relation to the human body and health. Through St Jerome's recommendations of what food a young woman should consume, Vives reinforces his own views and seeks to control what enters the young woman's body in order that her perceived innate sexuality will not emerge.

In addition to dictating the food and drink of a young woman, Vives seeks to control the operations of her body by mandating the following with regards to her rest. First, he specifies that the bed upon which a young woman sleeps "will be clean rather than luxurious so that she may sleep peacefully, not sensuously" (90), and advises the length of time she will sleep: "The sleep of a virgin should not be long, but not less that what is good for her health, to safeguard which we are of the opinion that young girls are healthier if they follow the austerity we recommend rather than sensual delight, which is manifested in its devotees by weakness and pallor" (91). Again, we see a reference to a woman's potential sexuality, which is precisely what he strives to prevent before it manifests itself in her body. We also witness a purported concern for her health in his prescription for a certain amount of rest and "austerity." Vives prohibits the young woman's contact with "every physical stimulus that excites our

internal organs, such as unguents, perfumes, conversations, and the sight of men," explaining that these stimuli are harmful to her (90). Like food, Vives wishes to control all stimuli affecting a young girl's senses. Moreover, by confining her body and limiting her access to sensory experiences, her chastity will be ensured, according to Vives.

In terms of a young woman's mental activities, Vives advocates keeping her mind occupied preferably by reading. He states that reading is the best pastime after her daily chores are completed, emphasizing that even if she tires of reading, she cannot remain idle (59). He believes that the mind should always be active and that being so allows it to thrive. He warns that the inactivity of the mind can lead a young woman into "lust and shameful conduct and worse crimes than these since they have nothing better to occupy themselves" (91–2). Again, we see that keeping the mind busy serves the same purpose as controlling her diet; it maintains a woman's chastity and prevents the manifestation of her sexuality. Furthermore, he reveals the notion that an educated woman is dangerous but that the education he has in mind for women as well as for everyone else is "sober and chaste" and one that "forms our character and renders us better" (64). Thus, he proposes that woman should be educated as to the rules that will make her morally upstanding according to male standards. It is important to note that Vives's definition of a woman's education relates to the maintenance of her chastity.

In Vives's discussion of the mind and its importance to the young woman's development, he explicitly links the mind to the body by connecting it to his definition of virginity. In the following passage, he defines virginity for the first time in his manual:

> I define virginity as integrity of the mind, which extends also to the body, an integrity free of all corruption and contamination. No way of life is more like that led in heaven. For there where the law of the flesh is abrogated we will be as angels, feeling no sexual urges, where no man or woman will be given in marriage. (80)

In this quote, he clearly privileges the mind over the body as he predicts how life in heaven will be, and how he perhaps would like it on earth, since he wants to prevent sexual urges and the laws of the flesh to rule a woman's existence. Instead, his desire is for the mind

to govern the body and to remain pure, and in this way, ensure the purity of the body. Thus, the mind is the most important instrument in protecting the young woman's body.

Although Vives favors the mind over the body, he addresses the outward appearance of a young woman's body. He specifically focuses on the subject of wearing make-up and vehemently forbids it. In the following excerpt, he tells the young woman she should only make herself desirable to Christ and specifies how she should make herself attractive to Him, her only spouse: "You have one spouse, Christ; to please him, adorn your soul with virtue, and he, the most beautiful of men, will kiss you. But if you are looking for a husband and you wish to win him over by painting yourself, I shall first show you how foolish it is and then how impious" (94–5). This passage could also serve as an example of how desirability was regulated in early modern society, because it directs a young woman not to wear make-up in her attempts to find a husband. Furthermore, he provides the following image of how the use of make-up has detrimental effects on the woman's body. It is important to note that damage is not limited to the face or skin, but that the entire body is affected by the use of cosmetics:

> All their comeliness and charm is attributed to art, not to nature. And what is more, young skin becomes wrinkled more quickly, the whole appearance of the face begins to look old, the breath reeks, the teeth become rotten, and a foul odor is emitted by the whole body, from the white lead, mercury, and especially from depilatories, soaps, and ointments, with which they prepare their face like a wooden tablet for the next day's painting. (95)

In addition to saying that a woman lacks piety if she wears make-up, he also states that she lacks virtue (98). Moreover, he specifies that a woman's attire should be clean rather than expensive (90–1). Once again, we see that Vives links the purity of the mind with the purity of the body.

Besides his instructions for the physical appearance of the body, Vives prescribes silence and enclosure within the domestic sphere. According to him, St. Paul, dictated that women be silent; furthermore, he quotes the supposed words of St. Paul in his address to the Corinthians regarding the silence of women: "The apostle Paul, vessel

of election, imparting holy precepts to the church of Corinth, said, 'Let your wives be silent in church, for it is not permitted them to speak, but to be subject, as the law commands. If they wish to learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home'" (72). He applies this rule of silence and enclosure within the home to "good" women and young, unmarried women so that their chastity will not be jeopardized.

Finally, Vives equates chastity, a single quality in women, with all the qualities that man must possess. It is interesting to note that man's requisites are external while the most valuable of woman's lies in the condition of her body. Further, he enumerates all the positive qualities that woman can potentially possess; we must note that many of those attributes are normally associated with the members of the privileged classes of early modern Spanish society:

> You may take away from a woman her beauty, lineage, wealth, charm, eloquence, intelligence, knowledge of the skills suited to a woman, but if you add chastity, you have given her everything in full measure. Conversely, you may lavish all those things upon her with all abundance and call her unchaste, and with this one word you have removed all. She is left naked and loathsome. (86)

Thus, a single element determines whether a woman is worthy or not in society: the appearance of chastity. Furthermore, Vives reminds woman of this and admonishes the women that cannot fulfill this single obligation that they have. It is noteworthy that he states that no one will take a woman's chastity if she does not allow it. However, as we know, woman did not have any privileges of ownership over her own body; it was the property of man. Thus, he equates the value of a single quality, chastity, with an entire list of qualities. This fact bears witness to the immense value and weight that chastity possessed during this period and Vives's success in transmitting the importance of this value in Spain's early modern society.

Like Juan Luis Vives before him, Fray Luis de León writes a treatise, *La perfecta casada*, which prescribes the behavior of the married woman. Although Fray Luis addresses it to his niece, María Varela Osorio, and writes it purportedly on the eve of her marriage, it is understood that it is also addressed to a wider audience (xiv). Like *The Education of a Christian Woman*, *La perfecta casada* contains

many references to the natural imperfections of woman and offers precepts on how to overcome these perceived defects by striving to become a perfect, virtuous wife. Fray Luis bases his treatise on the Bible, specifically the book of Proverbs, and uses the supposed words of King Solomon to provide instruction to the married woman. His manual is divided into twenty chapters and each chapter has as its theme an excerpt from the book of Proverbs, as pronounced by Solomon, which serves as the organizing principle for the chapter. This structure is supported by Fray Luis's comments about the life of farming and proposes that women from all classes should emulate the farmer's wife. This is in striking contrast to Vives, who dedicates his manual to a queen. Furthermore, like *The Education of a Christian Woman*, *La perfecta casada* enjoyed wide popularity and was accessible by many due to being originally written in Castilian. Its continued publication, well into the twentieth century, underscores its relevance to our discussion.

The purpose of his treatise, according to Fray Luis de León, is to advise his niece on the state of matrimony. He declares that, although he is not a married man himself, he is authorized to give advice to married women because he has received instruction by the Holy Spirit through the Holy Scriptures. In the following excerpt, taken from the dedication of the manual, he explains his purpose in writing his treatise:

> así yo, en esta jornada que tiene vuesa merced comenzada, le enseñaré, no lo que me enseñó a mí la experiencia pasada, porque es ajena de mi profesión, sino lo que he aprendido en las Sagradas Letras, que es enseñanza del Spíritu Sancto. En las cuales, como en una tienda común, y como en un mercado público y general para el uso y provecho general de todos los hombres, pone la piedad y sabiduría divina copiosamente todo aquello que es necesario y conviene a cada un estado; señaladamente en éste de las casadas se revee, y desciende tanto a lo particular dél, que llega hasta, entrándose por sus casas, ponerles la aguja en la mano, y ceñirles la rueca, y menearles el huso entre los dedos. (5)

In this passage, there are several elements that will establish the tone of the manual. First, Fray Luis utilizes the Bible as his primary source

to instruct the married woman for he believes that everything each person needs to know about his or her state is accessible in the Bible by all much like a public marketplace. Secondly, he asserts that for the married woman, the conditions of her state are so clearly defined, it is as if the Holy Spirit literally enters her home and prepares her for domestic labor by placing in her hands the tools she will need to carry out her tasks. These are the needle, the distaff, and the spindle. As we shall see, Fray Luis's use of images is instrumental in training the married woman for her designated role in society. His allusion to the fact that every person has a set condition, or state, anticipates his use of natural discourse throughout the manual. Finally, like the figure he uses of the Holy Spirit entering the woman's house, Fray Luis will construct the perfect, married woman through specific images he expects her to mirror. In the dedicatory address, we see the first one he employs. This figure is that of King Solomon's mother as described by her son in the biblical book of Proverbs. As Fray Luis states, she is the epitome of the perfect, virtuous woman (9).

Fray Luis emphasizes that God is at the center of a woman's formation and that woman's goal should be to please God, first and foremost. In the following excerpt, he tells woman that she should strive to be a perfect married woman in order to be pleasing to God: "Pues asiente vuesa merced en su corazón con entera firmeza que el ser amiga de Dios es ser buena casada, y que el bien de su alma está en ser perfecta en su estado, y que el trabajar en ello y el desvelarse es ofrecer a Dios un sacrificio aceptísimo de si misma" (15). Thus, we see that the goal for woman should be to please God and she will attain this goal if she is perfect in her state of a married woman. Unlike Vives, Fray Luis does not discipline her body to ensure her chastity. As a married woman, he states that she should already be chaste. His purpose, then, is to complete her perfection. Thus, a significant difference between the manuals is the definition each author gives of women's education.

Throughout his manual, Fray Luis uses natural discourse to demonstrate to woman that her rightful place is in the man's home. Through this strategy, he provides evidence that, according to nature, her God-given role is a domestic one. Furthermore, by juxtaposing woman's nature with man's he creates a polarization between man and woman where man is a superior being to woman for his "natural" knowledge and reason. For this reason, he declares man the owner of

the public sphere. Fray Luis uses the male/female binomial to show woman that because man is outside the home doing what is natural to his state, it is woman's duty to guard his home. Furthermore, he contends that man naturally possesses reason while woman is different by nature. In the following passage, woman is compared with an animal, the ox, as Fray Luis expounds upon her "nature" and her duty as a wife: "Por donde dice bien un poeta, que los fundamentos de la casa son la mujer y el buey; el buey para que are, y la mujer para que guarde. Por manera que su misma naturaleza hace que sea de la mujer este oficio, y la obliga a esta virtud parte de su perfección, como a parte principal y de importancia" (39). By his use of natural order, Fray Luis objectifies woman as he positions her in a specific enclosure, her husband's home, where domesticity becomes her assigned objective. Moreover, her job is to watch over her husband's house like the ox works the land that belongs to him. Upon aligning woman with an animal, he dehumanizes her and objectifies her so that man can domesticate her and use her labor for his own benefit. At the same time, he says that this is part of her "perfection" as a wife.

Virtue is extremely important in the construction of the perfect wife as it is the means by which she will overcome her innate weaknesses. In the following passage, Fray Luis explains that since woman, by nature, is weak, the only way she can triumph over this aspect of her nature is by surrounding herself with a squadron of virtues. By his use of the word squadron, we see, once again, Fray Luis's use of imagery to direct a married woman's behavior:

> Porque como la mujer sea de su natural flaca y deleznable más que ninguno otro animal, y de su costumbre e ingenio una cosa quebradiza y melindrosa [. . .] para que tanta flaqueza salga con victoria de contienda tan dificultosa y tan larga, menester es que la que ha de ser buena casada esté cercada de un tan noble escuadrón de virtudes, como son las virtudes que habemos dicho, y las que en sí abraza la propiedad de aquel hombre. (26–7)

Thus, by surrounding herself with an arsenal of virtues, woman will not only conquer her innate shortcomings but will also enclose man's property with said virtue, and in this way, protect it. It is important to note that the distinction is not made between the house or the woman

in the mention of man's property. Moreover, Fray Luis believes that the path to attain this virtue is by leading a certain type of life, the life of the cultivation of land. He begins by explaining that there are three types of lives to lead: farming, trade and leisure. Interestingly, these occupations represent the different stratifications of the social hierarchy in Spanish society during this period. Of these three, the one that he advocates is farming because it teaches virtue (57–8). Furthermore, the wife of the farmer is the perfect model for the married woman because:

> esta casada es el perfecto dechado [sic] de todas las casadas, y la medida con quien, así las mayores como las de menores estados, se ha de ajustar cuanto a cada una le fuere posible; y es como el padrón desta virtud, al cual la que más se avecina es más perfecta. Y bastante prueba dello es que el Spíritu Sancto, que nos hizo y nos conosce, queriendo enseñar a la casada su estado, la pinta desta manera. (56)

Thus, he believes that the farmer's wife should be the measure against which women of all class positions adjust as much as possible for it is the path to virtue and perfection. His basis for this assertion is that the Holy Spirit portrays the farmer's wife in this manner in its desire to demonstrate to the married woman the place assigned to her by patriarchal society. Through the abovementioned representation of the farmer's wife, Fray Luis also prescribes a regimen of domestic labor that the married woman must follow diligently. She must be the first to rise in her household for her family to follow her example. Aligning the image of her house with a body, he says that she is the soul of this home, that she directs the activity of the household and that without her direction, the inhabitants of her house will not be able to move on their own accord: "De manera que ha de madrugar la casada, para que madrugue su familia. Porque ha de entender que su casa es un cuerpo, y que ella es el ama dél; y que como los miembros no se mueven si no son movidos del alma, así sus criadas, si no las menea ella y las levanta y mueve a sus obras, no se sabrán menear" (74). He continues to train the woman in the life of the farmer's wife by providing her with a military image of how she should govern her household like a captain would his squadron (81). Moreover, he appeals to the women belonging to the nobility to arm themselves with the domestic tools of

the farmer's wife, if only for a short period of time, and to surround themselves with domestic work in order to dominate sleep, one of the vices associated with their way of life (64).

Fray Luis also mandates the physical space woman's body will occupy. He utilizes natural discourse to explain to her that physical enclosure is part of her destined role while it is the opposite for man: "Como son los hombres para lo público, así las mujeres para el encerramiento; y como es de los hombres el hablar y el salir a luz, así dellas el encerarse [sic] y encubrirse. Aun en la iglesia, adonde la necesidad de la religión las lleva y el servicio de Dios, quiere S[an] Pablo que estén así cubiertas, que apenas los hombres las vean" (166–7). Through the words of St. Paul, he tells her that even when she is in public, she should avoid being seen by men. This coincides with Solomon's instructions that specify that woman should only roam within her home. Furthermore, Fray Luis elaborates on this concept and states that the field of her career is her house and that her feet were not meant to step into the country or in the streets: "*Rodeó*, dice, *los rincones de su casa*; para que se entienda que su andar ha de ser en su casa, y que ha de estar presente siempre en todos los rincones della; y que, porque ha de estar siempre allí presente, por eso no ha de andar fuera nunca; y que, porque sus pies son para rodear sus rincones, entienda que no los tiene para rodear los campos y las calles" (165). Through the teachings of St. Paul and King Solomon, then, Fray Luis establishes the physical boundaries for woman's body: her home.

According to Fray Luis, a woman should not be heard. In the following passage, he tells woman that nature made her to guard the home and in this way it obligates her to close her mouth. He explains that this is the reason nature limited her understanding, her reason and her words:

> Porque así como la naturaleza-como dijimos y diremos-hizo a las mujeres para que encerradas guardasen la casa, así las obligó a que cerrasen la boca [. . .] por donde así como a la mujer buena y honesta la naturaleza no la hizo para el estudio de las sciencias, ni para los negocios de dificultades, sino para un solo oficio simple y doméstico, así les limitó el entender y, por consiguiente, les tasó las palabras y las razones. (158)

Although most of the training that Fray Luis prescribes for the married woman lies in physical labor, like Vives he makes recommendations for a woman's outward appearance, specifically informing the married woman what is pleasing to God in terms of her dress:

> Y llega hasta aquí la clemencia de Dios y la dulce manera de su providencia y gobierno, que desciende a tratar de su vestido de la casada, y de cómo ha de aderezar y asear su persona. Y condensciendo en algo con su natural, aunque no le place el exceso, tampoco se agrada del desaliño y mal aseo; y así dice: Púrpura *y holanda es su vestido*. (107)

It is understood that by *púrpura* and *holanda* he does not mean that a woman will dress in royal purple and fine linen. He means that the woman should take great care in how she clothes her body. Further, he explains that what God desires is for women to dress their bodies as they would an altar; thus, he implies that a woman's dressing and adornment should have a virtuous intent (108). In addition, he criticizes the ornate fashion of the period and emphasizes the specificity with which Solomon has made his recommendations for the woman's dress and adornment: "Dice *púrpura y holanda*, mas no dice los bordados que se usan agora, ni los recamados, ni el oro tirado en hilos delgados. Dice *vestidos*, mas no dice diamantes ni rubíes. Pone lo que se puede tejer y labrar en casa, pero no las perlas que se asconden en el abismo del mar. Concede ropas, pero no permite rizos ni encrespos ni afeites"(108–9). In the last line of the quote, we see that he initiates his discussion of make-up by women. Further, he uses the words of Aristotle to bolster his argument that women should not engage in the use of cosmetics (115).

Fray Luis's most extensive instruction is given on the subject of using make-up and declares that the use of it is tantamount to adultery. He uses the supposed words of Tertullian to describe how the work of God, the woman's face, becomes the work of the devil once woman applies make-up to her face. Fray Luis advocates for woman to wash her face in a certain manner and he explains this process in detail:

> Tiendan las manos y reciban en ellas el agua sacada de la tinaja [. . .] y llévenle al rostro, y tomen parte della en la

> boca, y laven las encías, y tornen los dedos por los ojos y llévenlos por los oídos y detrás de los oídos también, y hasta que todo el rostro quede limpio no cesen; y después, dejando el agua, límpiense con un paño áspero, y queden así más hermosas que el sol. (148–9)

Thus, the goal is to appear natural, without any artificial, unnatural paint on one's face. The method is to scrub every part of one's face, including the interior of one's mouth and ears, and to finish with a harsh cloth in order to appear more beautiful than the sun.

As we have seen, Fray Luis de León disciplines the body of the woman through physical labor, imagery, the Bible and natural discourse. It is important to observe that although he and Juan Luis Vives write their respective manuals at different historical moments, there are striking parallels between the bodies they produce. Both authors reproduce bodies that are voiceless, enclosed and hidden from the public view, in short, bodies that pose no threat to the social order. In effect, they are powerless and this underscores the fact that while the manuals may have been written against the backdrop of different historical and social situations, the subordination of woman remained an important ideological objective and her body was clearly a vital instrument of social control and domination.

In his article, "Patriarchal Territories," Peter Stallybrass discusses the production of woman according to specific ideological goals of the ruling class, stating that the "signs" of a "normative Woman" are "the enclosed body, the closed mouth, the locked house" (127). As we have witnessed, these are precisely the symbols of a disciplined body according to the precepts of the conduct literature we have examined. Thus, the literary significance of studying this genre is that it contains important information germane to our discussion of woman, her body, and her marginalized position in society, and contributes to the understanding of a tradition of judging woman on the basis of the condition of her body. Tracing the origins of this judgment affords us the tools with which to debunk the myths and objectification that have arisen as a result of emergent social practices intent on marginalizing woman due to the perception of her body and allows us to move beyond the monstrous portrayal of woman.

Note

1. This paper is an excerpt from my master's thesis, *Representations of the Woman's Body in Spain's Golden Age Literature.*

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Reviews

GIES, DAVID T., ed. *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. 863 pp.

An attempt to compile a historical, critical anthology of one of the world's richest literary traditions is undeniably a Herculean task. *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature* is the first work of such magnitude to be published in English since the 1970s. Aside from being a great resource for teachers and students, it offers the general audience a brilliant introduction to the Spanish literary panorama, from its beginnings to the end of the last century. Especially helpful is an eleven-page chronology of important events on Spain's political and cultural stages, spanning from 2000 BC to AD 2000.

More than seven hundred and fifty pages of the book feature a collection of essays presented in ten parts, beginning with an excellent introduction by the editor, David T. Gies. His remarks astutely complicate the very meaning and making of a literary history in general. Some of the significant questions he raises take into account such contemporary theoretical sensibilities as Homi Bhabha's claim that literary history is "an act of forgetting," and Louise Bernikow's remarks on literary history as a "record of choices." What is left then is an attempt to register, as described by Stephen Greenblatt, "multiple voices across vast expenses of time and space" (12). Geis' explicit invitation to readers is to find value in a compilation that is porous and lacks cohesion, one that reflects the fragmented realities of our dynamically changing world.

Part II, *History and Canonicity*, problematizes the notions of "authorship, national context, and ideological determination" (35) behind the creation of literary canons. The following eight parts are comprised of various chapters thematically grouped around different eras, from the Medieval to the Post-Franco period. These fifty-five chapters chronologically examine specific literary and cultural genres: poetry, prose, film and theatre. Those interested in some of Spain's literary giants, whose works have come to define a certain period, will find commentaries dedicated exclusively to Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Cervantes, José de Larra, Galdós and García Lorca. Nonetheless, the compilation's novelty is its inclusion of lesser-known literary contributions, notably the Catalan *Renaixença* and modernist writers, *Noucentisme*, and the Catalan Avant-Garde. Another characteristic of the book is its interdisciplinary nature that generously

draws from cultural theories to engage us in, for instance, studies of film and censorship under Franco, and the language of new media in post-Franco Spain.

Although certain sections express the desire to at least name some non-canonical yet worthy authors, Gies's introductory honesty seems to persist: the collection is porous. Academics who are looking for an ambitious, up-to date compilation of Spanish literary history that does not simply exalt only the best-known authors, should find a suitable match. However, those scholars in search of a critical anthology with more focus on gender and class distinctions, among other categories, might not find enough emphasis to satisfy their research. Perhaps, consulting some fifty pages of the book's comprehensive bibliography will compensate for those gaps.

Still, none of the previous, similar compilations in English, such as: *The Literature of the Spanish People from Roman Times to the Present* (1957) by Gerald Brenan, *A New History of Spanish Literature* (1961/1991) by Richard E. Chandler and Kessel Schwartz, and *A Short History of Spanish Literature* (1979) by James R. Stamm, is extensive or inclusive enough, to compare to the long overdue contribution this terrific reference makes. It overflows with information deftly presented by some of the top international scholars. What the novice and the master will encounter is quite sufficient to inspire a substantial number of vigorous debates over the words effectively pronounced by Lawrence Lipking, at the end of the past century: "Literary history used to be impossible to write; lately it has become much harder" (12). *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature* without a doubt offers its readers the most comprehensive attempt to favorably engage with such powerful thoughts.

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MIEDER, WOLFGANG. *Proverbs: A Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004. 304 pp.

El destacado académico de los refranes, Wolfgang Mieder, contribuye con otro excelente libro a la bibliografía de los estudios sobre la paremia. Además de útiles tomos de referencias bibliográficas y de un gran número de publicaciones en torno al papel de la paremia y sus fuentes en textos literarios y discursos políticos, Mieder es ahora autor de uno de los libros de referencia de la nueva serie "Folklore Handbooks" publicado en el 2004 por Greenwood Press. Con este nuevo estudio Mieder se propone actualizar las investigaciones sobre la paremia durante las últimas siete décadas.

Según Mieder, los tratados de paremiología más importantes se reducen a tres: *On The Lesson in Proverbs* (1853) de Richard Chevenix Trench (cuyo título cambió a *Proverbs and Their Lessons* en la versión definitiva de 1905), *Proverb Lore* (1902) de F. Edward Hulme (1841–1909) y finalmente, *The Proverb* (1931) de Archer Taylor—para Mieder, el "estudio clásico del género" (xiv)—cuya aparición despierta un gran interés en la paremiología en los círculos académicos de los Estados Unidos.

Aunque estas obras constituyan la piedra angular de los estudios paremiológicos, resalta a la vista que el estudio más reciente fue publicado hace más de medio siglo. He aquí la contribución doble de Mieder con esta guía; por un lado, pone al día la investigación en el campo y, por otro, siguiendo los pasos de Trench y Hulme, presenta una obra con un énfasis en proverbios angloamericanos a un "educated general reader" (xv). A primera vista, la limitación a la lengua inglesa y su contexto pudiera parecer una desventaja. Sin embargo, Mieder anticipa esta objeción al aclarar que sus análisis y explicaciones son perfectamente transferibles a la sabiduría proverbial de otras culturas y lenguas. De hecho, en su afán de mostrar estudios en varios contextos lingüísticos y culturales, Meider alude, en más de una ocasión, a investigaciones en otros idiomas.

Muchos aspectos positivos encuentro en el libro de Mieder. Tomando en cuenta a un lector educado general, el autor presenta y desarrolla sus ideas en un lenguaje claro y ameno—incluso proverbial a veces—y libre de un argot teórico en lo posible. La claridad y la accesibilidad de este estudio se complementan con la inclusión final de un "glosario" de medio centenar de vocablos de términos técnicos

que sin duda será de utilidad a los neófitos. Como autor de varias compilaciones bibliográficas no resulta extraño que cada sección de su estudio concluya con una selecta bibliografía pertinente a la temática tratada y además, que en la bibliografía final aparezcan todas reunidas y adecuadamente clasificadas: revistas de paremiología, estudios paremiológicos, refraneros multilingües, bilingües, angloamericanos, regionales y temáticos. La sección de recursos electrónicos, "Web Resources," destaca curiosamente por su parquedad.

El libro de referencia se divide en cuatro capítulos. El primero trata de la definición y clasificación de varias expresiones paremiológicas. El autor no se detiene en los múltiples intentos de definir la paremia, sino que más bien da esbozos amplios y agrega su propia definición. El siguiente capítulo de "Examples and Texts" consiste en seis monografías resumidas de Mieder que originalmente aparecieron en otras publicaciones académicas además de un pequeño florilegio de refranes de varios idiomas traducidos al inglés. Más adelante, en el capítulo "Contexts" muestra algunos usos de la paremia en canciones, poemas, lemas, titulares, graffiti, tiras cómicas y anuncios publicitarios, acompañados de diversos ejemplos e ilustraciones, sugiriendo que, en efecto, una imagen vale más que mil palabras (refrán que Mieder estudia con detenimiento en un capítulo anterior). Tal vez la sección más interesante para un lector académico sea "Scholarship and Approaches." Aquí Mieder presenta no sólo una lista extensa de referencias bibliográficas e ideas para investigaciones futuras, sino también las distintas posibilidades del estudio del refrán en campos tan disímiles como la religión, la política, la psiquiatría y la pedagogía. Entre muchos ejemplos, Mieder señala en su desiderata la necesidad de revistas académicas dedicadas a proverbios africanos y asiáticos, refraneros amerindios y afroamericanos anotados, colecciones de ensayos temáticos (las mujeres y la misoginia se mencionan varias veces) y estudios sobre aquellos refraneros populares. El carácter de publicación masiva de éstos últimos quizás prevenga a algunos investigadores a considerarlos como un tema serio, cuando en realidad el aspecto de transmisión es justo una cuestión de análisis indispensable en esta disciplina.

Si bien es cierto que el libro ha sido escrito para un público general instruido, los estudiantes universitarios, de posgrado y demás investigadores bien pueden beneficiarse de éste. Gracias al carácter panorámico, a los excelentes ejemplos de análisis contextuales y

rastreos históricos y a la útil y bien selecta bibliografía, *Proverbs: A Handbook* es un excelente punto de partida para todo aquel interesado en la paremia.

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CALDERÓN, HÉCTOR. *Narratives of Greater Mexico: Essays on Chicano Literary History, Genre, and Borders.* Austin, TX: U of Texas P, 2004. 284 pp.

"There are multiple roads. Choose the one that takes you to the heart of Juchitán," says a proverb of the ancient Zapotecs. Chicano critic Héctor Calderón's latest book ends with this proverb and is a testimony to the multiple roads he travels as a scholar of Latin American, Mexican and Chicano literature. Among his publications is the co-edited groundbreaking anthology, *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture and Ideology.* His ability to see the connections among writers and artists "set across their historical and cultural milieux"(xiii) is reflected in his writings on *Don Quixote* and José Donoso, Mexican rock artists Ely Guerra and Maldita Vecindad, and U.S. Third World feminism.

Calderón's interdisciplinary approach, or "personal and critical strategy," for the study of Chicano writers in *Narratives of Greater Mexico* invites the reader to consider an *América mexicana*, as Chicano folklorist Américo Paredes would call it. His study of Américo Paredes, Rudolfo A. Anaya, Tomás Rivera, Oscar Zeta Acosta, Cherríe L. Moraga, Rolando Hinojosa Smith, and Sandra Cisneros leads us back and forth across the Mexico-U.S. border with each writer. He demonstrates how their ties to Mexican culture make them unique contributors to American letters in the broadest sense; as such, each writer provides a unique vision of *mexicanidad.* With this book Calderón continues the project announced in *Criticism in the Borderlands*: to remap the borderlands and present an important cultural perspective absent from an international scholarly community as he draws attention to the historical and cultural interdependence of Latin America and the United States.

The book begins with the author's personal history and self-positioning as a *mestizo* and *rascuachi* from the border town Calexico. Subsequently, Calderón's interpolation of the various border region histories—Brownsville, Crystal City, El Paso and Río Grande, Texas; Río Abajo, New Mexico; San Francisco and San Gabriel Valley, California; Chicago, Illinois; and Mexico City, Mexico—elucidate the historical, geographical, literary, economic, and ideological structures that shaped each writer's text.

The first essay provides a foundation with an exposition of Américo Paredes's re-definition of the borderlands from an Anglo-American, romantic "Old Spain in our Southwest" to Greater Mexico, "a historically determined geopolitical zone of military, cultural, and linguistic conflict" (22). From this point forward, Calderón reveals how these writers have "displaced the myth of the Spanish presence in the Southwest [. . .] to both embrace and transform Mexican culture by offering in their work new versions of mujer y hombre, mestiza y mestizo, and mexicana y mexicano" (27).

Rudolfo Anaya's seven novels, for example, span his lifetime in New Mexico and usher the reader from the end of a "fantasy heritage" towards a more complex view of his native land and its Mexican and mestizo inhabitants. Specifically, Calderón situates *Bless Me, Ultima* (1972) as the initial transitional text in that process.

. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra /. . . And the Earth Did Not Part (1971), says Calderón, is a founding Chicano novel in both form and content. Its "short story cycle or novel as tales" has affinities with Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. However, as the reader puts the stories together, s/he encounters that the social, linguistic, and cultural realities of the migrant Texas-Mexican farmworker community in Crystal City during the forties and fifties are not only integral to the protagonist's identity formation, they also counter 1960's representations of Mexican Americans as inferior, fatalistic, and child-like. Chicano lawyer and activist, Oscar Zeta Acosta, also comes to terms with his Mexican male identity and personal experiences of racism during the tumultuous sixties in San Francisco and the Southwest as an innovative writer who, according to Calderón, employs his own version of Gonzo journalism.

Chicana writers Cherríe L. Moraga and Sandra Cisneros dialogue with Mexican literary authorities and revise popular cultural icons and forms as they portray another way for women to be human and free. Moraga's autobiography as a Chicana lesbian, *Loving in the War Years*, culminates with her powerful critique and subsequent revision of one of Mexico's most formidable female archetypes, la Malinche. Calderón brings to light Cisneros's skillful incorporation and subversion of Mexican and Chicano popular culture, which is effective as a means to explore women's roles on both sides of the border from a feminist perspective. Cisneros contemplates how women and men relate to each other as lovers after feminism and the

Chicana Movement (175). Calderón notes, for example, that in "Eyes of Zapata" the female protagonist equates the struggle for social justice with the struggle for equality in interpersonal relationships.

In conclusion, Héctor Calderón's collection may have been years in the making, and for good reason. The wealth of historical, biographical and literary information as seen through his critical lens is both engaging and accessible to a wide readership. This is a text to be referenced by critics, professors and students. While Calderón states he is "not alone in reasserting cultural ties with Mexican culture," he certainly makes a contribution by offering a nuanced study of seven major authors in *América mexicana, más allá de la frontera.*

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GRZEGORCZYK, MARZENA. *Private Topographies: Space, Subjectivity, and Political Change in Modern Latin America.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. 191 pp.

On the front cover of *Private Topographies*, the reader sees a visual of the book's underlying theme: a hand-drawn window showing the view of an actual city, and at the same time the reflection of an interior of an imagined living room. This multidimensional scene shows how space between a public city and a private living quarter has been arranged and then determined by the constructed window. To express the idea of how individuals organize the space around them, Marzena Grzegorczyk coins the word "implacement," or "conversion of abstract *space* into differentiated *place*" [my emphasis] (3). The author analyzes this concept further by linking the political transitions during which the implacements occurred. For example, Grzegorczyk shares her observation of the peculiar obsession individuals in Poland had with replacing windows during the transition from communism to free markets in the mid-1990s. Then she elaborates on the reason why Domingo Faustino Sarmiento chopped down the tree blocking the view from his house window the day after the revolution in Argentina. These examples demonstrate how earlier and later spatial configurations reveal the influence major historical events have on people, therefore asking the reader to consider how disorienting political transitional periods cause people to reorient their surroundings. How, for example, do unpredictable sociopolitical transformations affect not only individuals' daily lives but also their cultural production? In *Private Topographies*, Grzegorczyk explores these concepts as they relate to the growing Creole ruling class in politically and culturally transitional nineteenth-century Latin America. In this book the author examines the "windows" created in Mexico, Argentina and Brazil by discussing how differing implacements are represented in these countries' respective literatures. The literary works analyzed in this book demonstrate different ways individuals responded to the destruction of the old Spanish order during the Latin American post-independence period by reshaping and redefining their new Creole identities and surroundings. In addition to her central argument, she also draws upon architecture, urban planning, psychoanalysis, social theory, political history, post-colonial theory and even phenomenology for a truly interdisciplinary critical analysis.

In the introduction, Grzegorczyk begins with two parallel anecdotes that exemplify the central theme of her argument, followed by an exploratory discussion on the concept of transition as a "culture of event." In the first chapter the author shifts into an analysis of Latin America's first modern novel, *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816) by Joaquín Fernández Lizardi. The way Lizardi maps out the protagonist's erratic adventures throughout present day Mexico and the Philippine Islands reveals the impact the transition from Spanish colony to independent Mexico (second decade of the nineteenth century) had on normative citizenship. In the second and third chapters, Grzegorczyk focuses on the moment of transition involving the consolidation of the nation-state in Argentina (1845-80). Specifically in chapter two, the writer analyzes the brutal historical erasure and vigorous territorial staging techniques employed by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in his caudillo trilogy *Civilización y barbarie* (1845, 1863). By contrast, in chapter three the author explores Juana Manuela Gorriti's forced nomadism as the contemplative traveler uses a recuperative nostalgic approach in order to cope with the unstable past hovering over the land in *Gubi Amaya. Historia de un Salteador* (1852) and *La tierra natal* (1889). The last two chapters of *Private Topographies* present the impact of the inconspicuous transition from monarchy to republic on Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century. In chapter four, Grzegorczyk offers an analysis of the agoraphobic inaction determined by the carefully constructed yet unpleasant dwelling in Machado de Assis's *Dom Casmurro* (1899). She then exposes the improper city that lacks rationalized separation between private and social spaces in Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (1902) in chapter five. In her conclusion, Grzegorczyk ties together these distinct topographies and further extends her analysis by claiming that the rift between the immobility of the symbolic level and the mobility of the experience one acts as the groundwork for Latin American literature in the subsequent twentieth century.

Marzena Grzegorczyk's extensive analysis presents an original argument in an insightful manner. Her astute observations and theoretically challenging explanations on the political transitions and implacements would be particularly useful for a reader with considerable familiarity with literary theory as well as with the literature and culture of post-independence Latin America. Although specific

to literature and political historical contexts of Latin America, Marzena Grzegorczyk's concept of "implacement" and the ideas developed in *Private Topographies* incorporate universal concepts on the human condition that scholars in multiple disciplines can no longer ignore.

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